

*A grammar of Wangkajunga:
a language of the Great Sandy Desert
of North Western Australia*

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A grammar of Wangkajunga:
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Realla Angie

Nyuju Stumpy Brown

Mayanpung Julia Lawford

Wangkajunga speakers who assisted with the writing system

Dulcie Holiman

Nanarn Hazel Hobbs

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Preface

This book is a description of an Australian language from the Great Sandy Desert of north Western Australia. I learnt something about the existence of the language and its speakers when I worked as a teacher and then as a teacher linguist in the Kimberley towns of Fitzroy Crossing and Halls Creek. At that time, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the desert languages such as Walmajarri and Wangkajunga, were still being used as a means of communication by children as well as adults. As a teacher I was excited to hear them and to get to know their speakers. I wanted to do anything that I could to ensure their survival. As a teacher linguist I made games and booklets, planned excursions and held workshops with non-indigenous teachers. However, my contribution to the maintenance of these languages was negligible as long as my knowledge of their structure remained superficial. When the opportunity came for me to study for a PhD I undertook a description of Wangkajunga. This study is a revised version of my thesis. It is a description of a language that has a detailed case system, complex cross-referencing by bound pronouns and word order that is determined by pragmatics rather than syntax.

Much of the research for the grammar took place in the town of Fitzroy Crossing. I originally requested permission to do the study from the members of a community based adult education centre. The students at the centre were older speakers of Walmajarri and Wangkajunga. On my second visit to discuss this study my principal consultant, Nada Rawlins, was chosen, or, rather, she claimed the role. At the meeting she took my arm declaring ‘she’s mine’. I was fortunate to have such a consultant. Nada’s contribution to the study falls into two important areas. She made major decisions about the field work, including which speakers should work as consultants and which places we should visit on field trips. However it is her contribution to the language data that is most valuable. She is a lively and creative speaker of Wangkajunga. Her stories about her childhood in the desert contain many examples of old language use such as serial verb constructions, her recounts of modern excursions have examples of interesting use of intonation and her descriptions of plant foods make use of many uncommon words. In her descriptions of children’s activities she has created new words to suit specific actions. As a result of Nada’s input the data is rich in natural language examples.

Wangkajunga speakers were traditionally geographically and socially close to Walmajarri speakers. This association continues in many modern communities. Although Wangkajunga is a member of a group of languages called Western Desert it has some structural similarities to Walmajarri, a non Western Desert language. This study compares the grammar of Western Desert languages with their northern neighbours belonging to the Marrngu and Ngumpin groups. The study also highlights some of the features that distinguish the northern Western Desert languages from those in the southern Western Desert. Wangkajunga is firstly compared with three other languages of the northern Western Desert. These languages are Yulparija, Manyjilyjarra and Kukatja. This group of languages is compared with the

southern languages of the Western Desert, namely Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Gugada. Comparisons are also made with four of Wangkajunga's northern traditional neighbours Nyangumarta, Walmajarri, Jaru and Warlpiri.

Wangkajunga is a very different language to English and I hope that the description makes a contribution to the maintenance of the Wangkajunga language.

Abbreviations and conventions

A	Subject of a Transitive Clause	FUTIMP	Future Imperfective
		GRP	Group
S	Subject of an Intransitive Clause	HAV	Having
		HES	Hesitation
O	Object of a Transitive Clause	HYP	Hypothetical
(E)	English	IMP	Imperative
(K)	Kriol	IMPIMP	Imperfective Imperative
(WAL)	Walmajarri	INCH	Inchoative
ABL	Ablative	INDEF	Indefinite
ABS	Absolutive	INSTR	Instrument
ACC	Accusative	INT	Intensive
ACS	Accessory	INTERR	Interrogative
ACT	Action	INTJCTN	Interjection
ADMON	Admonitive	IRR	Irrealis
AFF	Affirmative	LOC	Locative
ALL	Allative	MOD	Moderative
ANOTH	Another	NARPST	Narrative Past
ASST	Associated Time and Space	NEG	Negative
AVOID	Avoidance	NOM	Nominative
BIG	Very Big	NOMZ	Nominaliser
CAUS	Causative	NUM	Numerative
CERT	Certainty	OBLIG	Obligative
CHAR	Characteristic	PA	Epenthetic Syllable <i>-pa</i>
COMPL	Completed Action	PAIR	Pair
CONJ	Conjunction	PERL	Perlative
CONTR	Contradictive	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative	POSS	Possessive
DEM	Demonstrative	PRES	Present Tense
DIR	Directional	PRIV	Privative
DS	Different Subject	PROB	Probably
DUAL	Dual	PST	Past Tense
DUB	Dubitative	PSTHB	Past Habitual
DWELL	Dweller	PSTIMP	Past Imperfective
EMPH	Emphatic	PURP	Purposive
ERG	Ergative	RDP	Reduplication
FEW	Few	REFL	Reflexive
FOC	Focus	REL	Relativiser
FUT	Future	REP	Report

SENTMOD	Sentence Modifier	TREL	Temporal Relative
SER	Serial	THING	Associated Thing
SIDE	Side	TYPE	Type
SIM	Similar	UNR	Unrealised
SPEC	Specifier	VERY	Very
SS	Same Subject	VOC	Vocative
SVC	Serial Verb Construction	WANT	Want
TAG	Question Tag	WARN	Warning
TEMP	Temporal	WH	Question

Free pronouns and agreement clitics

1sg	First person singular free pronoun
2sg	Second person singular free pronoun

REFL	Reflexive
1sgS	First person singular Subject
1sgO	First person singular Object
1sgDAT	First person singular Dative
1sgACS	First person singular Accessory
1sgABL	First person singular Ablative
1dIS	First person dual Subject
1dlexS	First person dual exclusive Subject
1dIO	First person dual Object
1dlexO	First person dual exclusive Object
1dIDAT	First person dual Dative
1dlexDAT	First person dual exclusive Dative
1dIACS	First person dual Accessory
1dlexACS	First person dual exclusive Accessory
1dIABL	First person dual Ablative
1plS	First person plural Subject
1plexS	First person plural exclusive Subject
1plO	First person plural Object
1plexO	First person plural exclusive Object
1plDAT	First person plural Dative
1plexDAT	First person plural exclusive Dative
1plACS	First person plural Accessory
1plexACS	First person plural exclusive Accessory
1plABL	First person plural Ablative

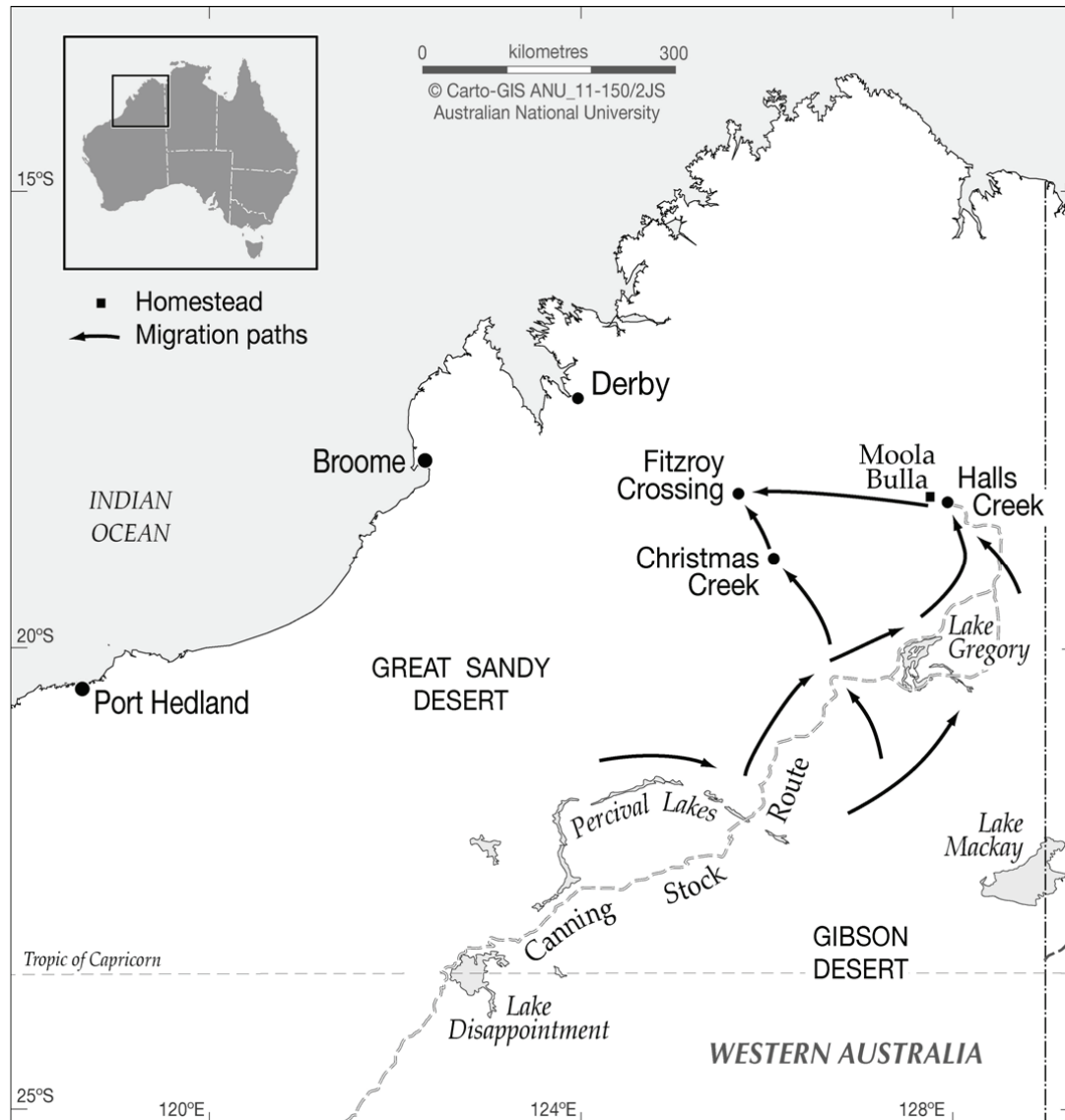
2sgS	Second person singular Subject
2sgO	Second person singular Object
2sgDAT	Second person singular Dative
2sgACS	Second person singular Accessory
2sgABL	Second person singular Ablative
2dIS	Second person dual Subject
2dIO	Second person dual Object
2dIDAT	Second person dual Dative
2dIACS	Second person dual Accessory

2dlABL	Second person dual Ablative
2plS	Second person plural Subject
2plO	Second person plural Object
2plDAT	Second person plural Dative
2plACS	Second person plural Accessory
2plABL	Second person plural Ablative
3sgS	Third person singular Subject
3sgO	Third person singular Object
3sgDAT	Third person singular Dative
3sgACS	Third person singular Accessory
3dlS	Third person dual Subject
3dlO	Third person dual Object
3dlDAT	Third person dual Dative
3dlACS	Third person dual Accessory
3dlABL	Third person dual Ablative
3plS	Third person plural Subject
3plO	Third person plural Object
3plDAT	Third person plural Dative
3plACS	Third person plural Accessory
3plABL	Third person plural Ablative
3plexS	Third person plural exclusive Subject
*	An unacceptable sentence
xx	An untranscribable element
[BRNS]	The source of an example is shown in brackets at the end of the vernacular sentence.
?	The meaning of the morpheme is unknown

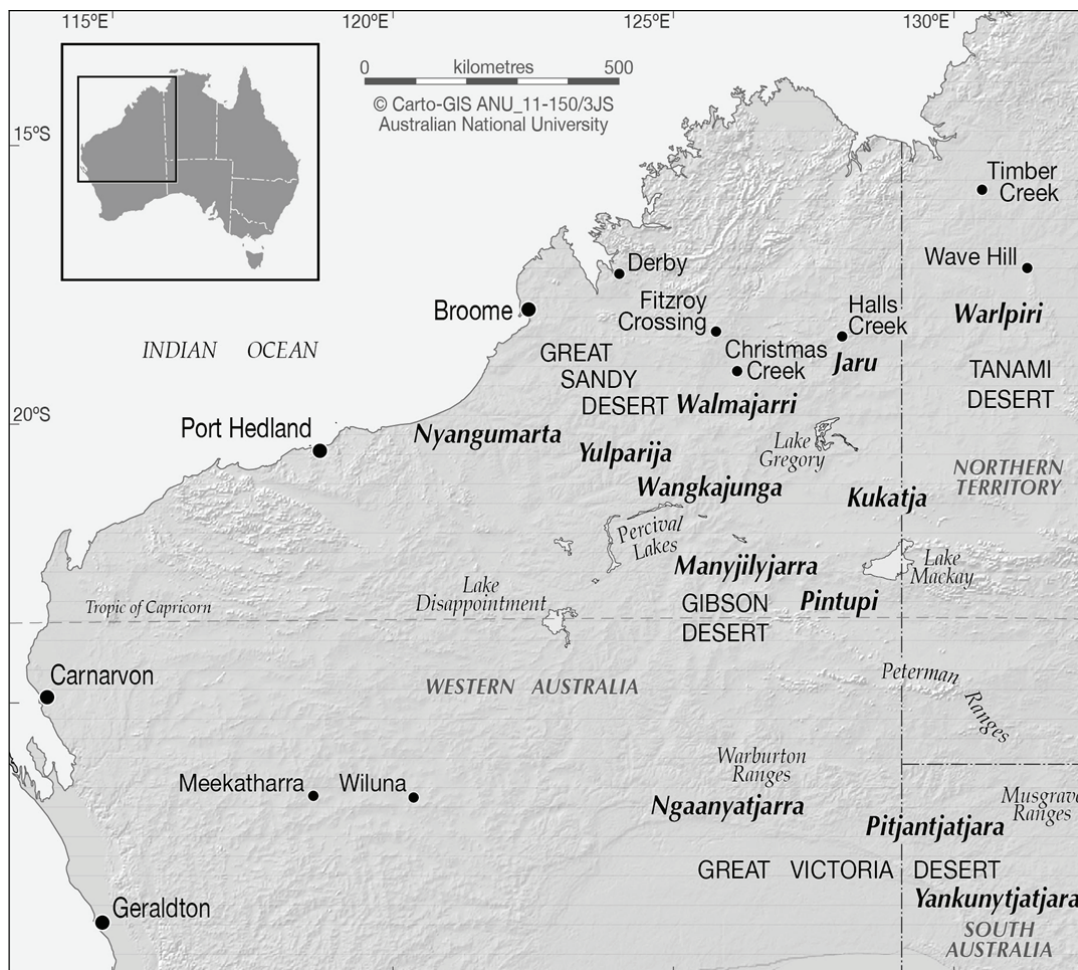
Maps



Map 1: Map of North Western Australia indicating the approximate location of waterholes mentioned in the Wangkajunga texts



Map 2: Map of North Western Australia indicating the direction of Wangkajunga migration from the Great Sandy Desert to the southern Kimberley region



Map 3: Map of North Western Australia indicating the approximate location of Wangkajunga and neighbouring languages.

1 *The language and its speakers*

Introduction

The Wangkajunga language is a member of a large group of languages now known collectively as the Western Desert language. The speakers of these languages traditionally occupied vast tracts of land in the centre of the western part of the continent. To the outsider these tracts of land are amongst the harshest environments in Australia. The linguistic grouping and territorial affiliations in this vast area are numerous and their complexity has been the focus of considerable debate (see §1.4.4). This chapter discusses the traditional and contemporary lives of the Wangkajunga people and their language use in both these settings.

Section 1.1 of the chapter gives a brief description of the traditional lives of the Wangkajunga people and traces their eventual migration from the Great Sandy Desert to the communities in the Fitzroy River Valley. Section 1.2 is a description of Wangkajunga speakers' use of social systems. The linguistic classification of the language, an outline of the grammar and the meaning of the language name is in §1.3. A discussion about language varieties in the northwest of the Western Desert and about Wangkajunga specifically is in §1.4. This section includes a discussion about language use and then itemises the major structural similarities and differences in the Western Desert languages of Western Australia. The numbers of speakers of the language and their current locations are estimated in §1.5. The final sections of this chapter outline the previous work undertaken on the northwestern languages of the Western Desert (§1.6) and some points about the fieldwork for this study (§1.7).

1.1 The traditional lives of the Wangkajunga people

The traditional territory of the Wangkajunga people is in the northeastern section of the Great Sandy Desert of far North Western Australia. This was, and still is, some of the most remote country in Australia. Although non-Aboriginal Australians refer to this region as 'desert' the stories the Wangkajunga people tell of their childhood describe it as a place of abundance. They tell of a great variety of animal foods, of large numbers of birds and of many different species of plant foods.

The following is a brief overview of the Wangkajunga people's traditional lifestyles and their migration from the desert to the cattle stations and towns in the southern Kimberley. The description of their traditional lives is a summary of several oral history texts. Extracts from two of the oral histories are presented in Wangkajunga and English in the Appendix. For a full description of the secular and spiritual lives of these northern Western Desert

people the reader is alerted to *The Mardudjara Aborigines: living the dream in Australia's desert* by Robert Tonkinson (1978/91). Tonkinson's ethnographic research among the groups of Western Desert peoples was based at Jigalong in North Western Australia. He has given these various language groups the name 'Mardudjara'. From 1963 he made several visits to the Jigalong settlement and six trips to what he calls the desert proper. He worked with desert people whose previous contact with non-Aboriginal people was either minimal or none at all. My principal consultant travelled in this area before she came north to the cattle stations on the fringe of the Kimberley region.

The traditional territory of the Wangkajunga people is in the northwest of Western Australia in the region of the Great Sandy Desert and the Canning Stock Route. Although it is generally called 'desert' the Wangkajunga people traditionally maintained an extensive network of waterholes and soakages in the region. A pictorial representation of the location of these waterholes in relationship to each other is presented in the Kimberly Language Resource Centre's *Ngaapa Wangka Wangkajunga* (2001:7). Wangkajunga stories also include the names of some of the most important of these waterholes (see Map 1). The names of some of the larger waterholes can very occasionally be found on non-Aboriginal maps. The waterholes mentioned are *Kurtal*, near the northern end of the Canning Stock Route in the region of *Kaningara* or Godfrey's Tank, *Nyirla*, a large waterhole east of the Canning Stock Route and near the French Hills; *Kulyayi*, near Well 42 on the Canning Stock Route and *Ngatawarlu*, which is near Well 40 on the Canning Stock Route. My principal consultant spent her very early years at *Kiriwirri* and *Yimiri* waterholes near the Percival Lakes. There are a number of very big salt lakes in this area of the Great Sandy Desert and some of the older Wangkajunga people refer to themselves as the *warla* 'lake' or 'marsh' people.

Wangkajunga oral histories describe a lifestyle in which small family groups travelled between the waterholes and soaks hunting and gathering the animal and plant foods. On rare occasions the women storytellers would live solitary lives hunting and gathering their own foods, after a family feud or in order to avoid an undesirable suitor. The waterholes, and consequently the animal life, were maintained by the Wangkajunga peoples' regular visits. In the very hot weather they travelled by moonlight and rested in brush shelters, or *kanaja*, by day. In the cold weather they made *wungku* or windbreaks to shelter from the wind and warmed themselves by fires. On the very cold desert nights they would sleep two by two with fires between them and at their heads and feet.

While their children played at the campsite, the parents and other adults went hunting, taking water with them in a *piti* or wooden carrying dish. The children would catch small lizards, *kaanu*, and search the vicinity of the campsite for plant nectars, berries or seeds. Sometimes the parents would hunt all day coming back to the camp late in the afternoon. They would return to their hungry children with the cooked animal food. On occasions they would have a *jarntu* 'dingo', another time a *waltaki* 'fox', sometimes a *ngalyangamuka* 'feral cat', or perhaps some small mammals such as *jampiyinti*, a type of possum. They might kill a *minyuparnta* 'bettong' or 'rat kangaroo', a *nginu* 'echidna' or maybe one or two of the numerous goannas or lizards that inhabited the region. On another occasion they might have killed a *kanaji* 'black-headed snake'. On the occasions when men went hunting alone, they would return with the cooked food skewered along a spear and carried across their shoulders.

The adults, particularly the women, also gathered fruit and vegetable foods. They may have filled their wooden dishes with *lukararra* 'wattle seeds'. These would be ground back

at the camp to make into a type of coarse flour to mix with water and roast in the coals of the fire. Sometimes the women would dig for *karnti* 'bush potatoes' or 'yams' and other edible roots. At some waterholes, the women would dig for *jurnta* 'bush onions'. These foods could be eaten raw or roasted in the coals.

My collection of texts is from women and most of them are narratives of their secular lives. As a description of the traditional lives of the desert people is inadequate without mention of their spiritual life I include the following quote from Tonkinson (1978:14). He emphasises the significance of the spiritual life in his description of the Mardudjara people.

The Aborigines ground their entire existence firmly in a conception of spiritual beings as holders of life-giving and life-sustaining power that is automatically accorded those who act out the life design formulated by these beings. The living conform to the dictates of a culture transmitted by their forefathers but attributed to spiritual, not human, actions. By denying the human innovatory component in their cultural development and by cleaving to a cosmic rather than chronological notion of history, the Aborigines are in effect claiming primacy for religious conceptions of causation, being and purpose.

1.1.1 The Canning Stock Route

One of the first moves away from their traditional lifestyle by these desert people was their move towards the Canning Stock Route. From 1908, the Stock Route traversed the hunting areas of the Wangkajunga people. The Western Australian government sponsored Alfred Canning's exploration of the area in 1906 in the hope of finding a route for droving cattle from the Kimberley to the railhead at Wiluna in the south. In the early 1900s Kimberley cattle were infested with a tick that thrived in humid conditions. Kimberley pastoralists were keen to try the southern overland route, as they believed the tick would not survive the long dry trip. Wells were bored along the track from Billiluna, just south of Halls Creek to Wiluna, east of Meekatharra, between 1908 and 1910. The track ceased to be used as a stock route in 1959.

The texts I have recorded do not make clear the reasons for the Wangkajunga people's move closer to the Stock Route. The Wangkajunga people may have been forced towards the more reliable wells on the Stock Route in drier seasons. They may have been visiting relatives who already occupied that area. For whatever reasons some Wangkajunga families began to live by the wells along the Stock Route.

There is mention of killing cattle on the route and also of raiding the provisions left at some of the wells for the non-Aboriginal droving parties. In the first story in the Appendix the storyteller spoke in a whisper when she described the killing of cattle near the stock route. The desert people were the victims of horrific reprisals for the slaying of cattle. Tragically, there are oral accounts of murderous expeditions by European station owners and policemen in response to the killing of cattle by the desert people. Accounts of these expeditions are to be found in the oral history collections of the Kimberley Language Resource Centre and the Karrayili Adult Education Centre. The storyteller in the first story of the Appendix still found it difficult to speak openly about killing a bullock even though it was many years later and far removed from the situation.

1.1.2 The move to the cattle stations

Sometime in the late 1940s and the early 1950s the families of my Wangkajunga consultants began to leave the desert. My consultants were then in their early teens. The desert people had heard stories and songs about the light-skinned people who had settled in the north. Sometimes distant relatives returned from the north with an artefact from their station life. They brought interesting accounts of their lifestyle amongst the *kartiya*s,¹ the light-skinned immigrants. Eventually the Wangkajunga families followed their relatives to experience life on the cattle stations. Although they may not have anticipated staying on the cattle stations most of these families' decisions to leave the desert were irreversible. The long distances and government policy of the time made it very difficult for them to return. A family history told by a Walmajarri woman (Andrews 1996:148) shows what happened to her family when they tried to curtail their visit to Cherrabun station. The story is translated from Kriol, an English contact language now widely used in the southern Kimberley. (See §1.5 for more detail about Kriol and the Wangkajunga peoples' use of this language).

My mother and father liked Cherrabun but my father never got used to working on a station, and he used to go away from there, you know, run away and leave the job. Then a policeman came and picked up father from Cherrabun because he'd run away and took us to the old police station at Fitzroy Crossing. They put my father in jail. Me and my brother and two sisters were living down here waiting for the big supply truck that used to bring loads from Derby and Broome and Perth a long time ago. We were just kids. We went to Moola Bulla on the big supply truck, the big semi-trailer. ...We went over to Moola Bulla to live. We stayed there for good.

My father used to go bush, you know, he didn't like living on the station. That's why we went and lived out bush, and the police came to take us. It was punishment, that's why they put us in Moola Bulla.

The following is an extract from an oral narrative by Mary Jarju. This is one of a collection of stories recorded by Audrey Bolger during her research period with Wangkajunga women at Christmas Creek station in 1982. The story is translated from Wangkajunga by Eva Lawford, a younger woman of the community. In this account the woman and her husband were able to return to the desert after their initial visit to the station. However the desert life was not continued for long. The station life was eventually inevitable. This story also gives an indication of the close ties between the Wangkajunga people and the desert people known as Kukatja at Balgo community south of Halls Creek. As Bolger notes (1987:105) Mary's arrival at Billiluna station was unexpected.

Then we saw this lake. The main lake, Blue Lake, Paraku. We walk and walk and we came to a house – Billiluna Station. One manager was there, Dick Ron. Dick Ron used to manage Billiluna station a long time ago, when I was a kid. We lived there in Billiluna with all the other people, stayed there now. Then we went again, back to the bush, straight back to Jalyirr.

There were other spasmodic visits to Billiluna but Mary still continued to live a desert life until she was eventually taken to Gordon Downs Station. Her story continues.

¹ This is a pan-Kimberley word for the European immigrants. Various explanations of the etymology of the word have been offered although none has received real acceptance.

From there we went to Government Well – that’s right out on Canning Stock Route. Me and my husband we was going from place to place. From there, from Government Well, we went to another rockhole. We went from there one place called Brengi, me and my husband had dinner there. From that waterhole we went to another place. We was getting near Gordon Downs area but we never go right in because me and my husband we were frightened. Next day they saw us and they sent a couple of men to pick us up. They brought us to Gordon Downs.

I didn’t like it in Gordon Downs, I went to Sturt Creek. We stayed there for a little while. We went back to Billiluna. We bin stop there for a little while, in Billiluna. From there Balgo next stop. We bin go from Billiluna to one spring. We bin have water there and we bin go to this old Balgo, old Balgo Mission. Me and my husband was living there now. We bin live there for a lo-o-o-ng time until Gracie was born.... When Gracie got big she went to school, and my husband died.

Now I’m living with Sundown and I’m living here at Kurungal, Christmas Creek – after Balgo. I’m staying here now. (Bolger 1987:107)

1.1.3 The government settlement at Moola Bulla

Moola Bulla, just west of the Kimberley town of Halls Creek, was established as a government settlement for Aboriginal people in 1910. The Western Australian government of the time thought that by establishing a government ration station they might reduce the number of cattle killed by Aboriginal people in the region. They also thought that elderly and sick Aboriginal people could be cared for at Moola Bulla. The Wangkajunga people had travelled north up the Canning Stock Route to Old Billiluna Station. Daisy Andrews’ story, although somewhat dramatic, describes how some of the Wangkajunga people were brought from Billiluna to Moola Bulla.

McBeath [manager of Moola Bulla 1949–1955] told my father, ‘You’ve got to go to Billiluna, do you know that country?’

‘Yeah,’ he said, ‘That is partly my country.’

McBeath said, ‘Okay well we have to go a long way, to Billiluna and Balgo in the desert.’

They went right up to Billiluna and Balgo, I think. They met all the people who had just come from the desert, and picked them up. They used to have that thing, that’s all, *parnti*, [pubic cover] we call it. Realla’s father was there, but his daughter was in Halls Creek. Her father and all those people are now in Christmas Creek. My father brought them in from Balgo. You know Stephen Beharrel, and his mother and father, and all his sisters and brothers? Well, my father brought them in.

He took them to Moola Bulla. They were all crying with fear and they were all naked except for that thing they wore.’

‘When can we go back to our country?’ they asked us in language.

They were talking Wangkajunga and crying. We told them, ‘We can’t go back, we have to wait until the *gardiya* tell us to go back. This is good country for us.’ (Andrews 1996:154)

The first story in the Appendix, ‘Childhood in the desert’, is an extract from a long narrative about the storytellers’ childhood in the desert and subsequent migration to the station country. The continuation of the story describes her stay in Moola Bulla and then her family’s long trek east to meet with other relatives at Christmas Creek station. Some other Wangkajunga families made their way from the desert to Koolena Station, on the southern boundary of Christmas Creek Station. Many of these people had Walmajarri and Juwaliny relatives at neighbouring Cherrabun station and also in Fitzroy Crossing. Map 2 shows the movement of the Wangkajunga people from the desert to their current locations.

1.2 The Wangkajunga social system

Traditionally, Wangkajunga society was ordered by a system of category membership and a kinship social system. Wangkajunga is similar to most Aboriginal societies in having a system that divides the entire human, and often the entire animal world, into four or eight groups or categories. The result is that individuals are not only related by real ‘blood’ ties but also by an all-encompassing system of ‘classificatory’ ties. Wangkajunga has four groups, commonly termed ‘sections’ in anthropological literature. The eight categories are known as ‘subsections’. Membership is allocated by birth and there is no possibility of changing groups. My consultants gave the following information about Wangkajunga sections.

The names for the four Wangkajunga sections are *Yiparrka*, *Karimara*, *Milangka* and *Purungu*. The consultants described the relationships in terms of marriage and birth. A *Karimara* mother has *Milangka* children, and a *Milangka* mother has *Karimara* children, a *Purungu* mother has *Yiparrka* children and an *Yiparrka* mother has *Purungu* children. Members of the *Yiparrka* section can marry members of the *Karimara* section and vice versa and members of the *Purungu* section can marry a member of the *Milangka* section, and vice versa. This means that in an ideal situation a *Karimara* man will marry an *Yiparrka* woman and have *Purungu* children, a *Purungu* man will marry a *Milangka* woman and have *Karimara* children, a *Milangka* man will marry a *Purungu* woman and have *Yiparrka* children and an *Yiparrka* man will marry *Karimara* woman and have *Milangka* children. This is simplified in the table below where the symbol = indicates marriage and mothers and children are placed one above the other.

Table 1.1: Wangkajunga section names

<i>Yiparrka</i>	=	<i>Karimara</i>
<i>Purungu</i>	=	<i>Milangka</i>

The explanation of the system given above is merely a brief introduction. In fact the system is complex. For example a *Karimara* woman cannot marry any *Yiparrka* man. Many of the male members of the *Yiparrka* section will be in classificatory relationships that forbid marriage with a *Karimara* woman, such as her real and classificatory mother’s father, her real and classificatory son’s sons and certain ‘cross-cousins’ that she cannot marry.

The ideal system is made up of predictable patterns that become part of each individual’s unconscious knowledge and which add complexity to the structure of the society. For example a *Karimara* woman will have *Karimara* grandchildren by her

daughter and *Yiparrka* grandchildren by her son. The patterns that emerge can be divided into two groups or moieties that are important in particular social situations.

Tonkinson (1978) describes the two moieties that were traditionally important in the Western Desert. Father-child pairs or patrimoieties are *Yiparrka* grouped with *Milangka* and *Karimara* grouped with *Purungu*. Another division that Tonkinson says was traditionally important in the Western Desert was called the ‘merged alternate generation level’ and groups *Karimara* with *Yiparrka* and *Purungu* with *Milangka*. Wangkajunga people refer to these groups as ‘my side’ or the ‘other side’. Tonkinson has an explanation for these terms

One’s ‘own side’ comprises not only all members of the same generation, but all grandparents and grandchildren on both sides of the family. This merging of own, +2 and -2 levels into one is paralleled in some kin terminology; the use of only two terms for all +2 and -2 members. From an individuals’ perspective, the other side consists of all +1 and -1 members (parents, children, mother’s brother, father’s sister, sister’s son and sister’s daughter). (Tonkinson 1978:57)

This ‘own side’ and ‘other side’ distinction is still important to varying degrees in Wangkajunga ceremonies such as funerals and dance festivals.

A list of terms elicited from Wangkajunga speakers for their actual and classificatory kin is set out in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Wangkajunga actual and classificatory kin terms

Kin Term	English translation	Relationships
<i>jamirti</i>	cousin	mother’s brothers and father’s sister’s children
<i>jamu</i>	grandfather, grandson	mother’s father, father’s father, daughter’s son, son’s son
<i>jurtu</i>	sister	female siblings and mother’s sister’s daughters
<i>kaja</i>	son, nephew	son, brother’s sons, sister’s sons
<i>kamuru</i>	uncle	mother’s brothers
<i>kurta, papartu</i>	brother	male siblings and father’s brother’s sons
<i>makurnta</i>	brother-in-law	wife’s brother
<i>malaju, malangu</i>	younger brother or sister	
<i>mama</i>	father	father, father’s brothers
<i>mantirri</i>	sister-in-law	husband’s sister
<i>nyupa</i>	spouse	woman: spouse, spouse’s brother man: spouse, spouse’s sister
<i>pimiri</i>	auntie	father’s sisters
<i>yaparli</i>	granddaughter, grandmother	mother’s mother, father’s mother, daughter’s daughter, son’s daughter
<i>yapayi</i>	granddaughter, grandmother	mother’s mother, father’s mother, daughter’s daughter, son’s daughter

Kin Term	English translation	Relationships
<i>yipi</i>	mother	mother, mother's sisters
<i>yumari</i>	mother-in-law	wife's mother, daughter's husband
<i>yurntal</i>	daughter, niece	daughter, sisters' daughters, brothers' daughters

These kin terms and the Wangkajunga section system are now under the influence of the subsection system. Modern Wangkajunga communities are surrounded by people who organise themselves according to an eight category subsection system. The Walmajarri people, who are now their closest neighbours and with whom many Wangkajunga people have intermarried, have the subsections set out in Table 1.3. The male terms begin with the palatal stop /j/ and the female terms with the alveolar nasal /n/. These terms are used extensively by the Aboriginal communities in the southern Kimberley. Subsection systems, labelled with terms that have similarities with the Walmajarri subsections, are used by the other languages in the Fitzroy valley, namely Bunuba, Gooniyandi, and Mangala. The Wangkajunga people in Fitzroy Crossing therefore also sometimes use these category names and related kin terms.

Table 1.3: The Walmajarri subsections

<i>Jangala</i> <i>Nangala</i>	<i>Jungkurra</i> <i>Nanyjili</i>
<i>Jupurru</i> <i>Nyapurru</i>	<i>Jawanti</i> <i>Nyapana</i>
<i>Japalyi</i> <i>Nyapajarri</i>	<i>Jakarra</i> <i>Nakarra</i>
<i>Jangkarti</i> <i>Nangkarti</i>	<i>Jampiyinti</i> <i>Nampiyinti</i>

Table 1.4: The Kukatja subsections

<i>Tjangala</i> <i>Nangala</i>	<i>Tjungarrayi</i> <i>Nungarrayi</i>
<i>Tjupurrula</i> <i>Napurrula</i>	<i>Tjapanangka</i> <i>Napanangka</i>
<i>Tjapaltjarri</i> <i>Napaltjarri</i>	<i>Tjakamarra</i> <i>Nakamarra</i>
<i>Tjapangarti</i> <i>Napangarti</i>	<i>Tjampitjin</i> <i>Nampitjin</i>

The Kukatja people who were neighbours of the Wangkajunga people in the desert also use a subsection system. (See §1.4.4.3 for a discussion of the use of the language names Kukatja and Wangkajunga.) These two groups share most kin terms. Many Kukatja

families are related to Wangkajunga people and there is frequent interaction between the Kukatja and Wangkajunga communities for sporting and ceremonial purposes. Unlike the Wangkajunga section terms, the subsection terms are in constant use as terms of address in Kukatja communities.

Table 1.4 has the subsection terms used by Kukatja speakers. As the Kukatja orthography has a /tj/ for the palatal stop I have followed this convention for the Kukatja subsections. The Kukatja subsections, although related, have a number of phonological differences that distinguish them from the Walmajarri subsections. (See McConvell (1985) for an approach to the history of subsections that suggests that these forms may have been adopted from the Kukatja's eastern neighbours via Warlpiri.)

1.3 The Wangkajunga language

1.3.1 Linguistic type

Wangkajunga is a Pama-Nyungan language belonging to the Wati Subgroup of the Western Desert. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:138) described this as a family-like language:

Kokata – Antikirinya – Ooldea – Warburton Ranges – Pintupi – Mount Margaret – Kardudjara – Yulbaridja is the most exaggerated example of an Australian family-like language – one extending from southeast to northwest for a distance of 900 miles.

This family-like language is commonly referred to as Western Desert.

The traditional neighbours of the language were Walmajarri, a language of the Ngumbin subgroup, in the north west, and other varieties of the Western Desert. The name Wangkajunga appears to be a recent innovation, see the discussion below, and is not mentioned in the major classifications of Australian languages. Neighbouring languages of the Western Desert, Yulparija, Manyjilyjarra and Kukatja, which are very closely related to Wangkajunga, have been classified as belonging to the Wati subgroup. (Capell 1962; O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966; Wurm 1972; Oates and Oates 1970)

Capell (1972) grouped these northwestern languages of the Western Desert together as 'Affix-transferring languages'. I quote from his article 'The Affix-transferring languages of Australia'.

This summary account of certain Australian languages represents a development of the author's thinking originally put forward in the introduction to his *Some Linguistic Types in Australia* (SLTA), which appeared as Volume 7 of the *Oceania Linguistic Monographs* in 1962. Further work has been done on Australian languages since that time, and particularly on those of the Western Desert areas. The added knowledge indicates that the patterns appearing in the so-called Western Desert languages are found over such a widespread area of Australia that the name Western Desert (WD) is inappropriate. The most obvious feature, already pointed out in SLTA (p.6ff.) is the transferring of person markers (subject and object) from the verb, where they logically belong, to the head-word of the utterance. A better term for these languages would therefore be Affix-transferring (AT). (Capell 1972:5)

Wangkajunga has a complex system of pronominal clitics which cross-reference subject, object and dative arguments. The system also includes clitics for cross-referencing animate allative and ablative participants. The clitics are attached to the first word or first constituent of the clause. The complexity of this feature, and the fact that the clitic cluster is compulsory is shared by the other northwestern languages of the Western Desert group,

Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra, Yulparija and Pintupi and distinguishes them from the southern languages Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. In the southern language, Ngaanyatjarra, the pronominal clitic cluster is compulsory but not as complex as those of the northern Western Desert languages. The use of pronominal clitics in Yankunytjatjara is not obligatory.

In Yankunytjatjara the use of clitic pronouns is not obligatory and sentences containing free pronouns only are by no means uncommon in normal speech. Using a free form and a corresponding clitic together creates contrastive emphasis. (Goddard 1985:61).

Word order in the language is apparently free as it is not used to indicate grammatical functions. Word order is in fact determined by the way the speaker wants to present information to the listener. The language has an ergative absolutive system for marking case on nouns and free pronouns. Each constituent of the nominal phrase bears case marking.

1.3.2 The contents of this grammar

Chapter 2 of this grammar contains a description of the phonology of the language, an outline of the major morpho-phonemic changes and a description of the more distinctive intonation patterns. As morphology is a dominant feature of the language the chapters on nominal and verbal morphology are prominent. Chapter 4 describes derivational and inflectional nominal morphology and Chapter 5 describes the morphology of pronouns and demonstrative forms. Chapter 6 describes the use of case to mark agreement and the complex cross-referencing system. Chapter 7 introduces the simple verbs and describes the derivational processes the language uses to add to the number of verbs. Chapter 8 describes the verbal inflections. Chapter 9 describes clauses with two verbs in what I have called Serial Verb Constructions. Chapter 10 describes nominal constituents, nominal-headed clauses and simple verb-headed clauses. In this chapter I have also included the optional constituents that can add meaning to simple clauses. Chapter 11 is a description of the ways in which clauses are combined to form complex sentences. In Chapter 12 I discuss word order, negation, questions and direct and indirect speech.

I have not used a single theory to assist in the description of the Grammar of Wangkajunga but have relied on a number of resources. My principal resources have been grammars of other Western Desert languages and two Pama-Nyungan languages. The grammars of Western Desert languages are Goddard's *A grammar of Yankunytjatjara* (1985) and Bowe's *Categories, constituents and constituent order in Pitjantjatjara* (1990). The descriptions of non-Western Desert languages that I have frequently referred to are Austin's *A grammar of Diyari, South Australia* (1981) and Simpson's *Warlpiri morpho-syntax* (1991). I have also been guided by Hale's description of Warlpiri verbal clauses (1982).

In this first chapter I discuss the relationship between groups of people in the traditional lifestyle of the Western Desert and how those people moved to modern multilingual communities. I describe how Wangkajunga people use their language name to distinguish, or unite, their speech variety from other language groups. In subsequent chapters I compare the grammatical features that unite or distinguish the northern Western Desert languages from the southern Western Desert languages. I compare the features of the northern languages, Yulparija, Manyjilyjarra, Kukatja and Wangkajunga with Pintupi and

the southern languages Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. I then compare these Western Desert languages with four of the northern neighbours of the Western Desert that belong to the Marrngu and Ngumbin Yapa groups. These languages are Nyangumarta, Walmajarri, Jaru and Warlpiri. The resources used for data for these comparisons are listed at the back of the grammar under the heading 'Main sources of information on Western Desert languages and the four northern neighbouring languages'.

1.3.3 The meaning of the language name

There is some confusion about the spelling and pronunciation of the language name particularly amongst non-Aboriginal people and some younger people in Fitzroy Crossing. When the language name was first recorded it was written as 'Wangkajungka'. Other spellings of the language were 'Wangkatjungka' with the 't' (Hansen 1984) and McGregor notes a spelling 'Wanggadjunggu' in his *Handbook of Kimberley Languages* (McGregor 1988). The name is pronounced 'Wangkajungka' by many non-Aboriginal people and probably as a consequence the community and the school on Christmas Creek station are both now recorded as Wangkajungka community and Wangkajungka School respectively. Older speakers pronounce the language name 'Wangkajunga'. When asked the meaning of the term my consultants did not explain its origin. The most likely interpretation of the name is that it is derived from *wangka* 'talk' or 'word' and *junga* 'correct' or 'straight', meaning straight or correct speech.

1.4 Linguistic grouping in the Western Desert in northern Western Australia

The difficulty of distinguishing linguistic groups and territorial affiliations in the vast area of the Western Desert was alluded to at the beginning of this chapter. In this section I endeavour to make some observations about the nature of traditional linguistic grouping in the region and then to discuss linguistic grouping in modern communities.

One of the criteria for making a distinction between whether two linguistic groups are members of the same language or whether they are two separate languages is mutual intelligibility. Crystal's 1997 description of this criterion makes it appear simple.

If two people speak differently, then, it might be thought there are really only two possibilities. Either they are not able to understand each other, in which case they may be said to speak different languages; or they do understand each other, in which case they must be speaking different dialects of the same language. (1997:25)

But Crystal adds that although this criterion works much of the time, it is not always so simple. In Australia, and in many other parts of the world where communities are often multi-lingual, the criterion of mutual intelligibility has serious problems. In the Western Desert where groups of people are highly mobile, and multi-lingual, the term has limited use. In this discussion I have relied heavily on the way speakers talk about their languages. For this reason, I have followed the speakers' use of the term 'language' and not tried to use 'dialect' for some groups and 'language' for others.

The speakers of the northwestern languages of the Western Desert, namely Kartujarra, Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra, Yulparija refer to these labels as 'language names'. I discuss the use of these labels in more detail in §1.4.3 below. These are the modern language names of the people who traditionally resided in the northwestern sections of the Western Desert, including the Great Sandy Desert and the Tanami Desert, and who migrated to settlements in the southern Kimberley and Pilbara regions of Western Australia. These settlements are

La Grange Mission on the northwestern Australian coast; Balgo Mission south of Halls Creek; Jigalong Mission east of Port Hedland and Christmas Creek Station and the town of Fitzroy Crossing in the southern Kimberley.

Other groups of Western Desert people, who were traditionally residents of the Great Sandy Desert and the Gibson Desert and immediate southern neighbours of these northern groups, migrated to Haasts Bluff, Papunya and Yuendumu in the Northern Territory. These people became known as Pintupi and Luritja (Hansen and Hansen 1978). Small numbers of these people also migrated to Balgo mission where they became known as Kukatja. Hansen (1984:10) quotes an individual from this area who migrated to Christmas Creek and became known as Wangkajunga.

Although there are very minor grammatical differences the northwestern languages Kartujarra, Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra, Yulparija and Wangkajunga have a number of structural similarities that set them apart from the southwestern languages Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. Many of these features are shared with Pintupi. The differences and similarities of these traditionally Western Australian languages of the Western Desert group are discussed throughout the grammar.

The major differences that set the northwestern languages apart from those in the south are;

- i. a complex system of cross-referencing pronouns (§6.2)
- ii. the cross-referencing pronouns are compulsory for all participants (§6.2)
- iii. word order is syntactically extremely free (§12.1)
- iv. free pronouns are marked for ergative and absolutive case (§5.1)
- v. proper names receive the same case marking as common nouns (§4.4.1)
- vi. each word of the nominal constituent is marked for case (§10.1)
- vii. nominalisations play a minor role in the formation of subordinate clauses. (§11.1)

Most adult speakers of Wangkajunga are also bilingual in the traditionally neighbouring language Walmajarri. Similarly close relationships are likely between the other northwestern Western Desert languages and their traditional non-Western Desert neighbours. Some of the above grammatical features are shared between the northwestern languages of the Western Desert and their neighbouring Ngumbin and Marrngu subgroup languages. These grammatical comparisons with Walmajarri, Jaru, Nyangumarta and Warlpiri are also discussed in the grammar.

1.4.1 Lexical comparison of Wangkajunga, other Western Desert languages and Walmajarri

The propensity for synonyms in the Western Desert makes lexical comparisons marginally effective. The following chart can therefore only be used to indicate a trend. This is a comparison of one hundred words taken from the major Western Desert languages and Walmajarri. The Western Desert languages are Yulparija, Manyjilyjarra, Wangkajunga, Kukatja, Pintupi, Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara. The Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara lists were combined for this comparison. The one hundred lexical items were taken from the *Revised linguistic fieldwork manual* for Australia (Sutton and Walsh 1979). These are starred items in the Sutton and Walsh list

originally from Kenneth Hale's one hundred-item core vocabulary list for Australian languages (Sutton and Walsh 1979:5).

Table 1.5: Lexical comparison of Wangkajunga, other Western Desert languages and Walmajarri

Walmajarri						
25%	Yulparija					
21%	83%	Manyjilyjarra/ Kartujarra				
26%	90%	90%	Wangkajunga			
26%	86%	89%	95%	Kukatja		
16%	55%	58%	60%	60%	Pintupi	
21%	62%	65%	64%	64%	76%	Ngaanyatjarra
15%	51%	52%	58%	57%	74%	72% Yankunytjatjara/ Pitjantjatjara

1.4.2 Warnman

One northwestern language, Warnman, is a neighbour of Kartujarra and Manyjilyjarra and is not included in the lexical comparison nor in the comparisons included in the grammar. This study has not had access to Warnman speakers and there isn't a grammar to date. Some unpublished material was recorded by O'Grady in 1955 and Hale in 1960. It is likely that Warnman shares many of the grammatical features of the northwestern languages. One feature of Warnman is however strikingly different. The independent pronouns of this language have no known cognates among other Australian languages. The Warnman independent pronouns as recorded by O'Grady, but written in the orthography used for Wangkajunga, are set out below (Sharp and Thieberger 1992:106)

Table 1.6: Warnman independent pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>parra</i>	<i>parrakujarra</i>	<i>parrawarta</i>
2	<i>parrangku</i>	<i>parrangkukujarra</i>	<i>parrangkuwarta</i>

The demonstratives are used to mark third person

Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>palawanin</i>	<i>palawaninkujarra</i>	<i>palawaninwarta</i>

1.4.3 Language₁ and language₂ terms

Any discussion of 'language' and 'dialect' is fraught with difficulty. Crowther (2001) investigated in detail the different senses of 'language' used by linguists and native speakers in New Guinea. Walsh (1997) proposes terminology to clarify the different senses of the word 'language'. Firstly, he proposes using Dixon's (1980:33) labels of language₁ and language₂ which distinguish between language-as-dialect: language₁ and language-as-

language: language₂. Walsh arranges his examples schematically as follows and, as an example, adds a suggested term for the language₂ of the Scandinavian group.

Table 1.7: Examples of language₁ and language₂ (repeated from Walsh 1997:396)

LANGUAGE (i.e. Language ₂)	DIALECT (i.e. Language ₁)
English	Aboriginal English, American English, Australian English, British English, Indian English, ...Zimbabwean English
‘Scandinavian’	Danish, Norwegian, Swedish...

Walsh (1997) proposes a further division of language₁. Language_{1a} refers to ‘geographical dialects’ and language_{1b} refers to other named varieties below the level of language₂ such as ‘baby talk’ or languages used only in restricted situations such as the special varieties used to talk with one’s mother-in-law. Although Wangkajunga has these varieties they have not been investigated for this study. The terms language₁ and language₂ have been useful in clarifying the use of language names in the following discussion.

1.4.4 Traditional linguistic grouping in the Western Desert in Western Australia

Like many indigenous Australian groups the people of the vast Western Desert area had no language₂ name. Douglas proposed the name ‘Western Desert’ in his *An introduction to the Western Desert Language* (1964). He described the language₂ in his introduction.

The Western Desert language is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by an unknown number of people (possibly by a number in the low thousands) living in the, so-called, ‘desert areas’ of South and Western Australia, including the Great Victoria Desert and the Gibson Desert, and in the central west of the Northern Territory. (Douglas 1964:1)

More detailed research on some of the linguistic varieties originally included in Douglas’ ‘Western Desert’ term has resulted in their reclassification. For example ‘Walmatjiri’ [Walmajarri], now classified in the Ngumbic group of languages, was included in Douglas’ 1964 discussion.

1.4.4.1 Language₁ names in the Western Desert

Traditionally, the Western Desert people used a number of labels to identify themselves in groups. Many of these did not refer to linguistic varieties. Older Wangkajunga people still use some of these labels to refer to themselves. In a classic paper ‘The concept of the Tribe in the Western Desert of Australia’ Berndt (1959) describes a number of social units that were important. He suggests that previous emphasis on ‘tribes’ has given much more status to the criterion of language in the Western Desert than need be. Berndt believes that dialect units are not significant in the organisation of group behaviour and that they have been accredited with a special social value that is not in accordance with the empirical situation. His description of social units in the Western Desert includes the dialect, the local group, the horde; the lodge, the religious cult unit composed of several local groups; and a much wider unit coming together for the purpose of performing certain sacred rituals.

The Wangkajunga people still use a variety of names to identify smaller subgroups amongst their people. Table 1.8 gives examples of some of these names.

Table 1.8: Examples of group names used by Wangkajunga people²

‘Kurtal’ mob	members of a group who were born at <i>Kurtal</i> waterhole or whose fathers were born at <i>Kurtal</i>
‘Karli’ mob	all the descendants of a person called ‘Karli’
‘warla’ people	the people who were born near the salt lakes
‘Tarrki’ people	the group or groups attached to a particular religious cult

The people of the Western Desert were naturally aware of speech varieties and sometimes used terms about linguistic variation to describe their neighbours. There were large numbers of these terms as both Hansen’s (1984) and Tonkinson’s (1978) examples indicate. Hansen (1984:7, 8) details some of them in his comprehensive paper on Western Desert dialects.

These local groups and collections of local groups, which in this paper I term multigroup, had minor speech variations and were often tagged with a name derived from speech differences. The *Ngapi wangkatjarra* in the north were so called because they used ‘*ngapi*’ instead of ‘*ngaata*’ for this. *Ngapi wangkatjarra* means ‘(The people)’ with the talk/word ‘*ngapi*’. ... There must have been scores of such multigroup dialect names over the whole Gibson and Sandy Desert area.

Hansen lists eighteen multigroup dialect names that he had come across, but he adds an interesting complication. He explains that when he was eliciting some of the dialect terms it became evident there was a variation of dialect terms for the same multigroup, depending on which other multigroup member referred to them. He gives an example of one multigroup dialect that was known by five terms and suggests that may not have been the limit. Hansen suggests that this would have been likely for most multigroups resulting in a great number of distinguishing linguistic terms.

Tonkinson (1978:8) also mentions the use of the suffix *-djara* [his spelling] for dialect terms in the Western Desert.

Western Desert Aborigines frequently refer to neighbouring groups by selecting a word that is used by speakers of the different dialect, to which the suffix *-djara* (‘having’) is added; for example, Bidjandjara, from *bidja* (‘to come’) and Mandjildjara, from *mandjila* (‘to get, to pick up’). Groups so designated may or may not refer to themselves by the same term, and may not see themselves as the unit that is suggested by such language-use labels. In the same way as the desert people, I have chosen the term Mardudjara (mardu, ‘man, people’) to refer to the linguistic groups whose home territories lie in the area surrounding Lake Disappointment on the Western side of the Gibson Desert and who often use mardu as one of their words for ‘people’ ... These groups are principally the Gardudjara, Budidjara, Gurradjara, Mandjildjara, and Giyadjara speakers.

² Some of the proper names in this table are pseudonyms.

Western Desert language₁ names were many and varied. There is another factor that complicates the language₁ situation in the Western Desert and that is the mobility of the people over vast areas. This means that they had frequent interaction with speakers of many other languages₁. Hansen (1984) also emphasises this mobility of family groups. An oral history text, 'Childhood in the Desert',³ narrated by Nada Rawlins illustrates this point. Before travelling north to Billiluna station the speaker had already travelled west from the Canning Stock Route to Port Hedland. She and her family then travelled east again to the Canning Stock Route before going north towards Lake Gregory. Hansen (1984) suggests that this would have meant that vocabulary and grammatical differences would have become widely known. The practice of intermarriage with members of more distant groups also would have resulted in a great deal of synonym and grammatical variation.

1.4.4.2 Modern linguistic grouping in the Western Desert of Western Australia

When the Western Desert people first arrived in Fitzroy Crossing and Christmas Creek Station they were known as Yulparija or Yulbre. An anthropologist, Erich Kolig, who was studying Aboriginal religion in the Fitzroy Valley between 1970 and 1977, recorded the name 'Yulbaridja'.

The desert immigrants came either from the area immediately adjoining the Fitzroy basin to the south, or from various parts of the northern and central Western Desert. Broadly, there were groups that Aborigines today, conventionally call Wolmadjeri, Mangala, and Yulbaridja. The 'Wolmadjeri' and 'Yulbaridja' classifications are not stable and vary according to local conventions and preferences. Yulbaridja simply means 'southerner' and refers to anyone from south of ethno- or ego center. (Kolig 1981:21)

Tonkinson (pers. comm. 2000) did not hear of the term 'Wangkajunga' when he began fieldwork with the neighbouring Manyjilyjarra people in 1963. The people he worked with spoke of their northern neighbours as Juwaliny, Walmajarri and Mangala. Juwaliny is a Ngumbin language₁ closely related to Walmajarri. Walmajarri is another pronunciation of Walmajarri.

In 1968 two linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics Australia were studying Walmajarri at Fitzroy Crossing and collected wordlists from the desert immigrants. The wordlists were headed Walmajarri and Yulparija (Hudson and Richards 1968). In 1973 the same linguists made a survey of the number of people who spoke Walmajarri as a second language. This survey used the term 'Wangkajunga.' There were 160 Wangkajunga speakers who spoke Walmajarri as a second language living on Christmas Creek station (Hudson and Richards 1973).

It seems that sometime at the beginning of the 1970s the Western Desert people in Christmas Creek and Fitzroy Crossing began to use the name Wangkajunga. It was not a language₁ name that they had brought from the desert but a name to identify them as desert people, distinguished from Walmajarri, now living in the region. They also had to distinguish themselves from the Yulparija who are the Western Desert people living at La Grange on the North Western Australian coast.

³ An extract from this narrative is given in the Appendix.

However Wangkajunga was not only a language₁ name. The region was at that time the home of a number of language₂ groups. When the Wangkajunga people arrived in Fitzroy Crossing from Christmas Creek Station, they came to an area already settled by people from a number of quite different languages₂. The Bunuba traditionally occupied the area where the town of Fitzroy Crossing now stands. Nyikina people had moved east along the Fitzroy River and Gooniyandi had moved from their traditional country slightly north and east of the town. When Moola Bulla was sold, Kija people were also brought to live at Fitzroy Crossing. Northern Walmajarri people from just south of the river were already living in the town and more Walmajarri people, particularly Juwaliny, came from Cherrabun and Christmas Creek Stations.

This large number of very different language groups meant that language₂ names were used by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike as a primary means of identifying groups of people. These names were important not only to the speakers but also to non-Aboriginal government departments. Language₂ names were a means of identifying groups of people in the allocation of government services such as housing, water supply, and educational facilities.

Hansen (1984) has initiated the term ‘communalect’ to cover the range of dialects and speech variations used by Western Desert speakers in modern communities. He lists: Kukatja at Balgo, Pintupi or Luritja at Papunya, Ngaatjatjarra or Pintupi at Giles, Wangkatjunga at Christmas Creek and Fitzroy Crossing, Yulparija at La Grange; Manyjilyjarra at Strelley and Wiluna and Martu Wangka at Jigalong (also called Manyjilyjarra). McKelson’s (unpublished MS n.d.) discussion about the name Yulparija reinforces its use as a ‘communalect’ type name at La Grange.

Yulparija has been linked with other southern languages such as Wangkajunga, Nyanitjara, Mantjiltjara, Titutjara, Kartutjara, Putitjara and Warnman. In Kartutjara for instance ‘I go’ is Yaninparna whereas in Yulparija it is ‘Yaninyinparna’ or ‘yanayinparna’.

Yulparija speakers claim that their language is distinct from the other languages mentioned above. On the other hand some calling themselves Yulparija will admit on questioning they are of Warnman or Nyanithara origin. Two children here on holidays from Balgo mission were called Yulparija by the locals.

Grammatical evidence for the fact that Wangkajunga is a name to cover more than one dialect is given in sections of the grammar where speaker examples have more than one form for a particular feature (see §4.5.3, §5.3.2, and §8.2.1.1).

Synonymous grammatical forms in Wangkajunga

Wangkajunga recordings contain examples of grammatical forms that are used more frequently in one of the other northwestern Western Desert languages. For example I have recorded the plural morpheme on free pronouns as *-n* for most speakers. One speaker uses the morpheme *-rti* to mark plural on free pronouns. This form, *-rti*, is the plural morpheme on free pronouns in Yulparija (Burrige 1996:19). As mentioned above these examples are noted throughout the grammar.

The principal consultant, Nada Rawlins, often uses a different grammatical form if she is speaking in the presence of a user of that form. In a recording about a description of the making of a dress from flour bags Nada uses *-rnun* for the past tense inflection. In all previous recordings she had used *-rnu*. During the recording of this text we were accompanied by a Wangkajunga speaker who used the *-rnun* form of the past tense. During

the composition of a short rhyme for use in a school language programme Nada used the form *-ja* for the bound pronoun cross-referencing first person singular object. In all other recordings she uses *-rni* for cross-referencing first person singular object. The person she was working with in the school was a Wangkajunga speaker who uses the *-ja* form of the cross-referencing bound pronoun.

1.4.4.3 Speakers' use of the name 'Wangkajunga'

The name Wangkajunga is used for both language₁ and language₂ in modern communities. This point can be illustrated by comments from speakers. The comments are translated from pidgin, Kriol and Wangkajunga.

Wangkajunga as a language₁ name

1. A Kukatja speaker residing at Balgo was discussing the language₁ names Kukatja, Wangkajunga, Yulparija and Manyjilyjarra. He said, 'We are all one' and demonstrated what he meant by raising his hands in front of him to point the index fingers of both hands side by side.
2. A man who identifies as Manyjilyjarra and Kukatja and resides at a community south of Balgo near the Western Australian border made the following comment. 'I've always spoken Manyjilyjarra and Kukatja since I was a child. Manyjilyjarra and Kukatja are all one language, and Wangkajunga. It's a language from the early days.' (Painting Country Film 2000, Warlayirti Arts Centre, Balgo).
3. When discussing the meaning of Wangkajunga my principal consultant made the following comment. 'Wangkajunga people are *kutuwana*, 'across the middle', Yulparija are *wilura*, 'west', and Kukatja are further *kakarra*, 'east', but they are all the same word. They are not like the other languages in the Kimberley; Bunuba, Gooniyandi, Walmajarri and Nyikina'.

Wangkajunga as a language₂ name

1. A Wangkajunga speaker who was comparing Wangkajunga with Walmajarri gave the following explanation. 'Walmajarri only goes across to Mount Pierre and down to the desert but Wangkajunga is a huge language which goes all the way down to Kalgoorlie'.
2. Speakers use the names Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra, Yulparija and Wangkajunga interchangeably. As a learner of the language₂ I am introduced to a Kukatja speaker as a learner of Kukatja, to a Manyjilyjarra speaker as a learner of Manyjilyjarra and to a Yulparija speaker as a learner of Yulparija.

1.5 Numbers of speakers and current locations

Since the 1960s, Wangkajunga people have lived at several places in the Fitzroy Valley in the southern Kimberley region of North Western Australia. The largest number, about 100, lives at Kurungal Community on Christmas Creek Station. Smaller numbers live at Mindi Rardi and Kurnangki Communities in the town of Fitzroy Crossing. Mindi Rardi Community, has about 60 Wangkajunga members, and Kurnangki about 15. A group of

Wangkajunga people has been granted the lease of the Bohemia Downs Station. This is now called Kupartiya.

Many Wangkajunga people have Walmajarri or Juwaliny partners and some have found partners amongst river country people such as Bunuba. This means that there are small numbers of people with Wangkajunga ancestry at other communities in the Fitzroy Valley such as Yakanarra, Junjuwa and Millajidee communities.

The Wangkajunga people are now a long way from their traditional country. They have made some attempts to visit their homeland but access is extremely difficult. The distances are long and the roads are poor. Good four-wheel drive vehicles are needed to cross the sand dunes and lack of maintenance of waterholes means there is limited water supply and diminishing numbers of game.

Despite the enormous changes to their lifestyle older Wangkajunga people, who were children in the desert, still use their first language as the principal means of communication. Most of this age group is also bilingual in Walmajarri. Their use of Standard Australian English is limited. Many of them use pidgin⁴ or to a lesser extent Kriol, to communicate with non-Aboriginal people.

Kriol is an English-based creole language that is spoken by a majority of the indigenous population of the Fitzroy Valley. (Hudson 1983). In the Wangkajunga community, young adults, those who have grown up on the station communities, use Kriol as their main form of communication. This group probably spoke Wangkajunga as very young children and can still understand it but don't use it as a principal means of communication. Their use of Wangkajunga is limited to particular situations. School-aged children use Kriol as their main form of communication but understand some Wangkajunga in context when their older relatives use it. Although they are not fluent speakers of the language these younger generations identify themselves as Wangkajunga people.

The schools at both Fitzroy Crossing and on Christmas Creek Station are eager to maintain the language with Wangkajunga language programmes at the school. The use of indigenous languages in schools is a complex issue. Programmes that have teaching the language as their primary aim often base the lesson on the grammar of the language rather than the natural use of the language in interactive games and on excursions. The effectiveness of these programmes fluctuates with the abilities of individual teachers and the time and finances allocated for the work by education authorities. They are most successful when the non-Aboriginal teacher learns from the community and involves community members in the instruction process. Sadly, this aspect of the programme is not always paramount, and despite the best efforts of the school and the teachers the indigenous language lessons sometimes involve little more than rote learning.

Hope for the maintenance of these northwestern desert languages lies in more effective and less structured means. The Wangkajunga communities on Christmas Creek Station and in Fitzroy Crossing still maintain close ties with other Western Desert speaking communities. Football carnivals, funerals, dance festivals, and traditional law meetings are some of the important aspects of modern life that bring desert people together in situations where the Western Desert language is the main form of communication.

⁴ This is a reduced contact language still used by some older speakers. It is not a first language for any speakers.

1.6 Previous work on the language

The Western Desert is an extensive and extremely complex linguistic area and has been the subject of a number of studies. These include anthropological studies (Berndt 1959; Elkin 1974; Tindale 1972; Tonkinson 1974; Hamilton 1982) as well as linguistic studies and language learning materials (Douglas 1964; Glass and Hackett 1970; Miller 1972; Vaszolyi 1979; Goddard 1985; Eckert and Hudson 1988; Bowe 1990; Glass 1997). In this section I have concentrated my discussion on the work that has been undertaken on the northwestern group of languages that speakers have led me to believe are closely related to Wangkajunga. A very brief note about work on the more southern Western Desert languages follows in §1.6.3.

1.6.1 Wangkajunga

Intensive linguistic work on Wangkajunga has been relatively recent. William McGregor began recordings and field notes at Christmas Creek Station and Fitzroy Crossing in 1982. These recordings, notes and transcriptions have been deposited at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra. A collection of oral histories of desert people living in the Fitzroy Valley was conducted by the Karrayili Adult Education Centre in 1986 and 1987. The main collector, Mona Jukuna, recorded a number of Wangkajunga stories in this collection. Copies of these stories are also deposited at AIATSIS.

In 1985 the first published word list, in the form of a small picture dictionary, was produced by Michael Angelo, a Wangkajunga speaker from Fitzroy Crossing, with the assistance of AIATSIS. As part of his study of Western Desert languages Ken Hansen produced a word list and lists of grammatical forms in Wangkajunga (Hansen 1984).

Still more recently a number of Wangkajunga recordings and some transcriptions, have been made by the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, Karrayili Adult Education Centre, Mangkaja Arts in Fitzroy Crossing and by the present study. The Kimberley Language Resource Centre published a Wangkajunga word list in 1992. A more comprehensive word list 'Ngaapa Wangka Wangkajunga' (2001) has been produced by the Language Centre with the assistance of Karrayili Adult Education Centre and the Wangkajunga Remote Community School.

1.6.2 Work on other northwestern languages of the Western Desert language.

1.6.2.1 Yulparija

Work on the other northern languages of the Western Desert have a much longer history. As early as 1966 Geoffrey N. O'Grady began eliciting material from Yulparija speakers who had migrated from the Great Sandy Desert to the north west coast at La Grange Mission.

Kevin McKelson was a Pallotine priest at the La Grange Mission from 1961. He used O'Grady's grammatical material as the basis for his study of Yulparija. McKelson's collection includes wordlists, lists of sentences and translations for use in the church services at La Grange. He also wrote short grammatical descriptions to assist non-indigenous teachers, nurses and lay missionaries. Copies of all of these materials, except those used by the church, are lodged with AIATSIS. McKelson was an extremely diligent student of indigenous languages at La Grange. He also recorded valuable material and

wrote language-learning lessons for Nyangumarta, Karajarri, Mangala and, less comprehensively, Juwaliny.

In 1978, Kate Burridge, then a student of linguistics at the University of Western Australia, began work on a Yulparija Sketch Grammar using the materials collected by O'Grady and McKelson. This grammar was published in 1996 in a collection of articles on Kimberley languages edited by McGregor.

The School at La Grange, now Bidyadangga Community, continues to implement a language programme involving the four indigenous languages. Some literacy materials have been produced in Yulparija for this programme.

1.6.2.2 Manyjilyjarra and Kartujarra

James Marsh began linguistic fieldwork for the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Jigalong in the northwest of Western Australia in 1967. In 1976 he wrote 'The grammar of Manyjilyjarra' for his MA thesis for the Arizona State University in the United States of America. Marsh continued to work on Manyjilyjarra until his death in 1999. He worked closely with Manyjilyjarra and Kartujarra speakers at Jigalong to produce many literacy materials for both adult and young indigenous readers. His 'Martuwangka dictionary' was published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1992. 'Martuwangka' means Aboriginal language and is a term used by speakers to refer to the northern Western Desert languages spoken at the Jigalong Community.

Mark Clendon studied some aspects of Manyjilyjarra grammar while working at Strelley and Ngarlkuninya communities west of Port Hedland in North Western Australia. His article 'Some features of Manjiljarra nominalised clauses' is published in Austin (1988).

Thieberger (1993) also lists D.M. Bates (n.d. 79) C.G. von Brandenstein (1969, 1982) as contributing to Kartujarra vocabulary.

Robert Tonkinson's anthropological research in the 'Mardudjara' region (1978) produced valuable information on the language and culture of the Manyjilyjarra and Kartujarra people. His publication, 'The Mardudjara Aborigines: living the dream in Australia's desert' was cited in §1.1. He also recorded songs and collected Kartujarra vocabulary.

1.6.2.3 Kukatja

Father Ernst Worms collected a detailed Kukatja wordlist as early as 1950, from people living in the area around the old Balgo Mission.

Father Anthony Peile (1931-89), a Pallotine priest working at Balgo Mission, now Wirrimanu Community, made an enormous collection of Kukatja materials. A bibliography of all this work was compiled by Hilaire Valiquette and is available from AIATSIS. Peile produced language learning materials for the bilingual programme at Luurnpa Catholic school and also translations of hymns for the church but his primary interest was in ethnobotany. A recent Pallotine publication, 'Body and Soul: an Australian Aboriginal view' contains much information about this aspect of the language (Peile 1997). An article on botany, (Peile 1996) written by Peile but edited by Valiquette is in McGregor's 1996 publication on Kimberley languages.

Hilaire Valiquette was employed as a linguist at Luurnpa School and edited Peile's materials to produce a Kukatja to English dictionary. The dictionary contains extensive

information about the Kukatja language and culture. This dictionary, which includes a short grammar sketch, was published by the school in 1993, but is now, sadly, out of print.

The Luurnpa School has produced a large amount of very attractive literacy material in Kukatja. The material includes texts of different genres as well as games and visual teaching aids. Much of this work is due to Helen Nakomarra, a Kukatja speaker who is a very experienced translator and Kukatja writer.

The recent successful marketing of Balgo art has the potential to also promote Kukatja literacy. Magabala Books an Aboriginal publishing house based in the Kimberley, produced an award winning book of Kukatja stories illustrated by Kukatja artists and titled 'Tjarany Roughtail' (Greene, Tramacchi and Gill 1992). Warlayiti Art Centre at Wirrimanu has plans for more recordings of artists' stories.

1.6.3 Research on and literacy materials for other languages of the Western Desert

1.6.3.1 Pintupi

Ken C. Hansen and L.E. Hansen have been writing the Pintupi language since 1966. There is an enormous amount of literacy material for this language as well as a grammatical description (Hansen and Hansen 1978) and a dictionary (Hansen and Hansen 1974, 1977, 1992).

1.6.3.2 Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara and Gugada

The study and description of the southern languages of the Western Desert has been undertaken for a longer period and is much more substantial than for the northern languages. Since Trudinger's 'Grammar of the Pitjantjatjara dialect, Central Australia' in 1943 further descriptions have been made of Gugada, Pitjantjatjara, Ngaanyatjarra and Yankunytjatjara. These are listed at the back of the book under the heading 'Main sources of information on Western Desert languages'. Comprehensive lists of descriptions, texts and literacy materials for the many languages of the southern Western Desert are in Thieberger's 'Handbook of Western Australian languages South of the Kimberley Region' (1993:187-236).

1.7 Fieldwork methodology

1.7.1 Consultants

There has been a tradition of using the term 'informant' for indigenous language speakers who assist with linguistic research. As this term doesn't appear to be adequate for the amount or type of assistance given to me I prefer to use 'consultant' or 'teacher'. I have used these terms throughout this grammar for the women who taught me about the Wangkajunga language and culture.

As I had been working in the Kimberley region before beginning this study I was conscious of asking permission to begin and to ensure that the community of speakers was aware of the study. I was already known to some Wangkajunga people and had spoken to them about studying Wangkajunga.

When I arrived in Fitzroy Crossing to begin the study on the language two women, one from Fitzroy Crossing and one from Kurungal at Christmas Creek, were ready to instruct me. In fact my consultants had been chosen for me. I think that the people with whom I

had spoken previously had chosen the women and that there were several reasons for the choice. During my employment in Aboriginal schools and organisations it has always seemed appropriate for me to work with women rather than men. I believe that it was a deliberate choice for the Wangkajunga families to choose women for my consultants. Both of these women were mature women, who had grown up using the language in the desert so they would record older forms of the language. One of the women was very involved in women's law and appeared to be a senior member of the Kurungal community. The other woman had a little more experience with non-Aboriginal people and was cautious to control the amount of religious information recorded. She maintained a secular emphasis in all her material. This woman had participated in some Walmajarri projects and had more understanding of the nature of the work. I believe there was also a practical reason why these two women wanted to do the language work. It provided interesting employment for mature women, who because of their lack of English find it difficult to get paid employment in the community or the town.

There was some dissent among younger members of the Fitzroy Crossing community from another language group. They may have thought the older women who spoke less English needed to be protected. They wanted them to be assured of proper recognition and payment for their work. This dissension was expressed at a Kimberley Language Resource Centre meeting in Fitzroy Crossing in 1993 but the two Wangkajunga consultants were firm in their conviction to do the work. At a similar meeting two years later the consultants and myself were given praise as examples of how to conduct work on an indigenous language.

The Wangkajunga consultants did agree with the younger women and were very firm about one condition. They insisted that I continue to return to work in Fitzroy Crossing and Kurungal. They thought that if someone was to learn their language that person should make a long time commitment to the language and community. They thought that the two women sent by the Summer Institute of Linguistics to work with Walmajarri speakers were a good example. Members of the Kimberley Language Resource Centre committee and staff have reiterated this condition to other linguists.

This condition is clearly understandable from the women's point of view. However it does present something of a dilemma for the linguist whose ability to provide good linguistic descriptions increases with the study of different languages.

Working with the older Wangkajunga women meant that I recorded stories with elaborate descriptions of the desert life in complex forms of the language. Some of these stories had interesting storytelling techniques such as repetition, vowel lengthening and whispering. I learnt a great deal about a fascinating lifestyle that has sadly, irretrievably, disappeared.

One of the consultants spoke very rapidly and although eager to be helpful was better at telling the stories than working on the transcriptions. Eventually, I worked longer with the consultant based in Fitzroy Crossing. She spoke clearly and patiently repeated words and phrases for my benefit.

The list of Wangkajunga consultants is at the beginning of this book.

1.7.2 Elicitation

Initially I relied more heavily on information from the texts than eliciting forms. I began by translating the texts and then elicited sentences to fill in the gaps. I formed hypotheses about grammatical forms based on information from the texts and other Western Desert languages and then made up sentences to check with the consultants. This was sometimes

rather boring for the consultant especially listening to sentences in the stilted accent of my Wangkajunga. The sample sentences needed to be relevant to life in Fitzroy Crossing. If the sample sentences weren't appropriate to life in Fitzroy Crossing my consultants would correct the context of the sentence rather than the form.

I also encountered problems when I tried to elicit more examples of complex forms rarely used in the texts. This kind of difficulty has been described by McGregor (1990:34) The ablative forms of the pronominal clitics are an example. My consultants replied with substitutes for the complex form that were easier for me to use.

1.7.3 Field trips

The many rewards but also contradictions of fieldwork are well described in the volume by Newman and Ratcliffe (2001). They present a good introduction to the intellectual challenges faced by linguists in the field.

It is the creative tension between these two equally important imperatives – training, preparation, and planning on the one hand, and flexibility to improvise and intellectual openness and venturesomeness to see things with new eyes on the other – which defines the fieldwork experience. (Newman and Ratcliffe 2001:7)

I tried a number of ways of working that I thought would make the language teaching and learning more natural. I went with my consultants and their extended families on numerous bush trips. This compensated my patient teachers for the long sessions on transcription and immersed me in natural settings of Wangkajunga. We went hunting for goannas and digging for potatoes. On these trips I learnt specialist words such as the fresh dirt dug up by a goanna as it digs back into its burrow and the word for a stick used to scrape aside the coals. I learnt new exclamations and some informal hand signs.

We also went on trips to language centre committee meetings, to dance festivals, to visit elderly relatives in the nursing home in the next town and to funerals in nearby communities.

1.7.4 Recording texts

In an attempt to vary the types of narratives recorded, I tried various topics and recording methods. At the beginning of the study the consultants did some small drawings about desert life. I recorded their descriptions of the drawings. This gave me some brief informal stories that were relatively easy to transcribe. The drawing provided clues to the meaning. The exception was a story about one person walking around and around looking for water. This was not a good story for a beginner. As the third person singular pronominal clitic is *nil* I had no clear guide to the beginning and end of clauses.

Stories that recount hunting trips appeared to be popular with the women and I recorded several of these. They were not so easy to transcribe because although the stories are lively and interesting the speech is very quick.

The most appealing stories were about the consultants' childhood in the desert. These were long and had many interesting stylistic features.

On one occasion the consultant was talking about how they had to make their own clothes out of discarded flour bags when they first arrived at the station. She offered to make a flour bag dress if I could get the flour bags. I did get the flour bags and she made the dress in the same style as the originals. We then made a recording about making these

dressess on the station. I subsequently sold the dress to the museum. Other shorter texts were collected by sending faxes and getting replies, sending postcards and short notes to people in the city, leaving notes for people 'we have gone to the supermarket', describing photos and describing paintings.

My work on school language programmes and on small language projects for the Kimberley Language Resource Centre helped me to gain access to younger speakers more proficient in English. A Kukatja woman who has worked for sometime on Kukatja literacy was very patient at explaining meaning differences. It was a delight working on the English translations of the Kukatja stories she did for the school and watching her fascination for old Kukatja words no longer in common use.

The Wangkajunga women's proficiency in Walmajarri was also very helpful. I learnt the meaning of some suffixes and verbs by asking for the equivalent in Walmajarri and then referring to the Walmajarri Dictionary or asking the linguists who worked with Walmajarri.

Access to other linguists in Fitzroy Crossing was extremely helpful. The two linguists who had studied Walmajarri helped with accommodation as well as language. Their knowledge of the families of the area, the history of the desert people and mostly of the desert languages was invaluable. We spent a lot of time comparing the two languages. I also benefited from discussions with other linguists working at the Kimberley Language Resource Centre.

1.7.5 Financial support

I was fortunate to be granted assistance for the study of Wangkajunga from the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra. This provided the necessary payment for my consultants. Linguistic fieldwork in an Australian language, particularly in remote areas of the country, is an expensive occupation. Suitable transport for field trips and the payment of consultants are only two of the many expenses. Reasonable accommodation is often difficult to find in remote towns and Aboriginal communities. There are no houses or apartments waiting to be rented. Aboriginal homes continue to be grossly overcrowded because of the lack of available housing. On one of my visits to Fitzroy Crossing I purchased a second hand caravan to solve my accommodation problems.

2 *Phonology*

Introduction

This chapter describes the main features of the phonological system of Wangkajunga. Section 2.1 presents an inventory of the 17 consonant and three vowel phonemes of the language and general statements on the allophonic variations. Section 2.2 describes the phonotactic pattern of the language and the role of the epenthetic syllable ‘*pa*’. Section 2.3 discusses the minimal word in Wangkajunga. Section 2.4 describes the major morphophonemic alternations found in the language. Sections 2.5 and 2.6 are two short discussions on the prosodic features stress and intonation in the language. Section 2.5 outlines single word stress and §2.6 notes distinctive uses of pitch and tempo in Wangkajunga speech. Section 2.7 makes some comparisons between the northwestern and southwestern dialects of the Western Desert. Comparisons are also made with four northern neighbours of the Marrngu and Ngumbin-Yapa group of languages.

2.1 The Wangkajunga phoneme inventory

Wangkajunga has the phoneme inventory typical of an Australian language as described by Dixon (1980), Busby (1980) and Yallop (1982). It is also typical of the languages of the Western Desert (§2.7).

Wangkajunga has a stop at five places of articulation, with a corresponding nasal for every stop. These paired stops and nasals can be grouped into two apicals, one laminal and two peripherals. Other typical Australian features are the lack of fricative or sibilant phonemes, the lack of voicing contrast, the presence of two ‘rhotics’, and a triangular vowel system with contrasting length. It is similar to other languages of the western third of Australia in having more than one lateral phoneme, in this case a lateral for each non-peripheral place of articulation. The language has two semi-vowels, although, in addition to these two, one of the rhotics has the phonotactic patterns of a semi-vowel. In this discussion I have adhered to the Australianist term ‘peripheral’ rather than the identical standard term ‘non-coronal’.

Table 2.1 illustrates the phonemes of Wangkajunga in the orthography used by the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, the Wangkajungka Remote Community School and the Fitzroy Crossing District High School. The /j/ or /tj/ may be used. I have used /j/ but the Kukatja orthography has /tj/ and some Wangkajunga writers may wish to follow this convention.

Table 2.1: The Wangkajunga phoneme inventory**Consonants**

	non-peripheral			peripheral	
	apico-alveolar	apico-post-alveolar	lamino-palatal	bilabial	dorso-velar
stop	<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>j/tj</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>
nasal	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>
lateral	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>ly</i>		
tap	<i>rr</i>				
approximant		<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i, ii</i>	<i>u, uu</i>
Low	<i>a, aa</i>	

There are no contrasts attested that indicate a phonemic distinction between the clusters /rnt/ and /rnrt/ or between /rlt/ and /rlrt/. Thus the distinction between apico-alveolar and apico-post-alveolar stops is neutralised in the second position of a nasal-stop or lateral stop cluster. The writing system reflects this. The nasal stop clusters /rnt/ and /rnrt/ are both written /rnt/ and the lateral stop clusters /rlt/ and /rlrt/ are written /rlt/. Similarly, the laminal contrast is neutralised in the first position of a nasal-stop and lateral-stop cluster. In the writing system /nyj/ and /nj/ are written /nj/ and /lyj/ and /lj/ are written /lj/. Orthographically, this applies to word medial clusters only and not for those across morpheme boundaries. If the word is normally written with a word final laminal nasal or laminal lateral this spelling is retained before the affixation. The word *parntany* ‘mature woman’ provides an example.

parntany-ju

woman-ERG

2.1.1 Wangkajunga consonants**2.1.1.1 Apical contrasts**

Apical alveolar sounds are formed by the contact of the active articulator, the tip of the tongue with the passive articulator, the alveolar ridge. Post-alveolar sounds are formed by contact of the tip of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge. The apical contrast in stops and nasals is illustrated by the following minimal (and subminimal) pairs:

Apical stops

<i>piti</i> ‘wooden dish’	<i>pirti</i> ‘hole’
<i>jutu</i> ‘blunt’	<i>jurtu</i> ‘sister’
<i>mata</i> ‘bush potato’	<i>-marta</i> ‘moderative suffix’
<i>kata</i> ‘head’	<i>warta</i> ‘tree, stick, wood’

Apical nasals

<i>jantu</i> ‘blanket’	<i>jarntu</i> ‘dingo’
<i>mina</i> ‘nest’	<i>mirna</i> ‘upper arm’
<i>junu</i> ‘she put it’	<i>jurnu</i> ‘waterhole’

Apical laterals

<i>mala</i> ‘hare wallaby’	<i>marla</i> ‘back’
<i>malu</i> ‘how many’	<i>marlu</i> ‘large kangaroo’
<i>wala</i> ‘quickly’	<i>warla</i> ‘marsh, lake’

The contrast in apical sounds is neutralised in initial position. In the practical orthography these are written /t/, /n/ and /l/.

2.1.1.2 Pronunciation of stops and nasals

Wangkajunga stop sounds have both voiced and voiceless allophones. Word initial stops are generally unaspirated and voiceless, although voiced allophones occur in this position under heavy stress. There is lenition of the stop phonemes between vowels. The voiced allophone frequently occurs between vowels and following nasals and laterals.

/kuka/	[kʊkʌ] ~ [kʊgʌ] ‘edible animal, meat’
/lapa/	[lapʌ] ~ [labʌ] ‘white cockatoo’
/jarntu/	[jaŋtʊ] ‘dingo’
/wangka/	[waŋgʌ] ‘word, language’
/marnkal/	[maŋgal] ‘spinifex species’
/malpa/	[malbʌ] ‘friend, mate’

For some speakers there is a further lenition of intervocalic stop phonemes. The palatal stop [ɟ] has the fricative allophone [ç] when it occurs intervocalically. This is in free variation with the voiced palatal stop allophone [ɟ]. A fricative allophone [ɣ] of the velar stop /g/ also occurs in the same position.

/pukurl/	[pʊgʊ] ~ [pʊɣʊ] ‘happy’
/pujurl/	[pʊɟʊ] ~ [pʊçʊ] ‘frog species’

The apical contrast between alveolar and post-alveolar sounds is almost imperceptible with many speakers. This is particularly so with /rt/ and /t/ following the high front vowel /i/. Besides the minimal pairs listed previously, the contrast is confirmed by the speakers’ assertion that words contrasting the two apical sounds are indeed different words. The spelling of some words is inconsistent due to the pronunciation of an alveolar or post-alveolar sound. If there is an apical sound, a tap /rr/, or the approximant /ɾ/, in a word to which a suffix is attached, the apical sound of the suffix can be neutralised. I have not attempted to normalise the spelling of these words.

Intervocalically the apical post-alveolar stop can be realised as a tap /rr/ in a small number of words such as *kurtun* ‘asleep’.

/kurtun/	[kʊtʊn] ~ [kʊrʊn] ‘asleep’
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2.1.1.3 Laminal contrasts

Laminal sounds are made with the active articulator, the blade of the tongue, contacting the passive articulator, the alveolar ridge or the hard palate. The laminal contrast in stops in medial and word initial position is illustrated by the following:

Laminal stops

<i>-kutu</i> ‘towards’	<i>kuju</i> ‘one’
<i>kata</i> ‘head’	<i>kaja</i> ‘son, nephew’
<i>tarrka</i> ‘bone’	<i>jarrpa</i> ‘enter’

The following are examples of laminal and velar, and laminal and alveolar nasals in word initial and word medial positions.

Laminal nasals

<i>ngurra</i> ‘home, camp’	<i>-nyurra</i> ‘all of you’
<i>ninti</i> ‘know’	<i>nyina</i> ‘sit, stay, live’
<i>wana</i> ‘digging stick’	<i>wanya</i> ‘evil spirit’

Apical and laminal laterals

<i>ngulu</i> ‘fright’	<i>ngulyu</i> emphatic clitic
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Apical post-alveolar and laminal laterals

<i>jarlu</i> ‘big’	<i>jalyu</i> ‘infected sore’
<i>warla</i> ‘marsh’	<i>walya</i> ‘sand’
<i>karlu</i> ‘penis’	<i>kalyu</i> ‘water’

I have not noticed the lamino-dental allophone of the phoneme /j/ recorded in southern Western Desert languages by Glass (1970), Goddard (1985) and Hansen and Hansen (1978:35), although William McGregor (pers. comm. 2000) has heard it.

2.1.1.4 Rhotic contrasts

Wangkajunga has two sounds that Dixon (1980) labels ‘rhotics’, a retroflex continuant /r/ and a tap /rr/. The following minimal and sub-minimal pairs are evidence for the two separate phonemes /r/ and /rr/.

Continuant and tap

<i>mara</i> ‘hand’	<i>marra</i> ‘pick it up’
<i>karu</i> ‘short fighting spear’	<i>karru</i> ‘river’
<i>yiri</i> ‘ribs’	<i>yirra</i> ‘mouth’

Continuant and stop

<i>pura</i> ‘bush tomato’	<i>puta</i> ‘bad’
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Stop and tap

/t/ and /rr/

kata ‘head’ *karru* ‘road’

/rt/ and /rr/

murti ‘knee’ *murru* ‘swelling, boil’*wirta* ‘dog’ *wirra* ‘type of coolamon’**2.1.1.5 Pronunciation of rhotics**

Word finally the tap may be realised as a fricative trill. The following are two examples.

/kilyirr/ [kɪɭɪɾ] ‘ashes’

/kukurr/ [kʊɻɻɾ] ‘spirit’

2.1.1.6 The distribution of /r/ and /rr/

Because of their distribution within words the apico-post-alveolar tap /rr/ and the retroflex continuant /ɾ/ are classed separately as an apical tap and a glide rather than two rhotics. The phoneme /rr/ occurs as the first sound in a consonant cluster, between vowels and word finally but not word initially. Like the other two semi-vowels the phoneme /r/ can also occur between vowels, sometimes word initially but not word finally and not in consonant clusters. The distribution of word initial and word final consonants is set out in Table 2.2 and Table 2.4. Goddard (1985), for Yankunytjatjara, and Hudson (1978), for Walmajarri, have also grouped /r/ with the semi-vowels. McGregor (1988:166) quotes a number of Australian linguists who have proposed a similar grouping. McGregor’s argument for grouping /rr/ and the laterals together as liquids in some north-western Australian languages cannot be argued for Wangkajunga. Although Wangkajunga /rr/ has a similar distribution to the laterals so too do the non-peripheral nasals.

2.1.1.7 Approximants

Wangkajunga is typical of Australian languages in having a peripheral glide /w/ and a palatal glide /y/ in addition to the continuant /r/.

wala ‘quickly’*jala* ‘spit’*yarra* ‘go’*parra* ‘around’*yipi* ‘mother’*pipi* ‘breast’*kara* ‘salty’*kata* ‘head’*pura* ‘bush tomato’*puya* ‘skin’, ‘subsection’*pura* ‘bush tomato’*puwa* ‘hit’*piruwa* ‘bush honey’*piyura* ‘Grevillea species’**2.1.1.8 Pronunciation of glides**

The glides /y/ and /w/ are not always articulated in word initial position when followed by the high vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively. There are no phonemic contrasts between glide initial words and vowel initial words. Wangkajunga words do not begin with the low vowel /a/ as they do in the southern Western Desert languages.

/yiri/	[jɪi] ~ [ɪi] ‘sharp’
/yirna/	[ji:ɳʌ] ~ [i:ɳʌ] ‘mature man’
/wulu/	[wʊɭʊ] ~ [ʊɭʊ] ‘always’
/wungku/	[wʊŋgʊ] ~ [ʊŋgʊ] ‘windbreak’

The glides /y/ and /w/ are reduced between vowels to become phonetic vowel clusters or diphthongs.

/pawula/	[pawulʌ] ~ [paulʌ] ‘cook’
/ngawutaka/	[ŋawudagʌ] ~ [ŋaudagʌ] ‘bush food’
/kayili/	[kajɪli] ~ [kaili] ‘north’
/kalayin/	[kalajɪn] ~ [kalam] ‘wattle species’

The second vowel of the diphthong is greatly extended in vocative endings in greetings such as the following. This is accompanied by lip rounding and a rise in pitch. I have labelled these vocative endings VOC.

<i>Nyinamayawu</i>	[ɲɪnamajʌʊʊ] ‘Goodbye! Stay there!’
<i>Yanamayawu</i>	[janamajʌʊʊ] ‘See you!’ Keep going!’

The characteristic suffix *ayi* is frequently realised as the diphthong [ei].

/wangka-payi/	[wʌŋgəbei] ‘a talker’
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2.1.2 Wangkajunga vowels

Wangkajunga has the typical Australian triangular three vowel system /i/, /u/ and /a/ with contrasting length. Long vowels are found only in the first stressed syllable of a word and occur infrequently. Reduplicated onomatopoeic words have long vowels in each reduplicand. The following are some of the many examples of contrast between the vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/.

<i>jarntu</i> ‘dingo’	<i>jirntu</i> ‘sun’
<i>jurnti</i> ‘cave’	<i>jurnta</i> ‘bush onion’
<i>waru</i> ‘fire’	<i>wuru</i> ‘mob, heap’
<i>wiru</i> ‘bird’	<i>wira</i> ‘white clay’
<i>mama</i> ‘father’	<i>mamu</i> ‘devil’
<i>malpa</i> ‘friend’	<i>malpu</i> ‘spirit’

2.1.2.1 Pronunciation of vowels

There is considerable variation in the pronunciation of the three vowel phonemes. There are lax allophones for all three vowels, generally occurring on unstressed syllables. Adjacent nasal, retroflex and laminal sounds colour the production of Wangkajunga vowels, although William McGregor (pers. comm. 2000) points out that this is not as prominent as in the Non-Pama-Nyungan languages of the Kimberley which are modern Wangkajunga’s northern neighbours.

The high front unrounded vowel /i/ has the allophones [i], [ɪ] in free variation. Following a palatal consonant and preceding the continuant /r/ it can be realised as [ɛ].

/pinga/	[pɪŋa] ‘ant’
/tili/	[tɪli] ‘light’
/nyiri/	[nɛ.ɪ] ‘desert skink’

The high back rounded vowel /u/ has the allophones [u] and [ʊ]. Following or preceding palatal consonants this phoneme can be fronted to [y].

/junu/	[ɟʊnʊ] ‘waterhole’
/nyupa/	[nʊbʌ] ‘spouse’
/maru/	[ma.ʊ] ‘black’
/nyunjun/	[nʊɲɟʊn] ‘leg’

The low vowel /a/ has a range of allophones conditioned by its consonantal environment. It is typically pronounced as the open mid vowel [a]. In unstressed positions as the second syllable of a three syllable word it can be pronounced as a schwa [ə] and word finally as [ʌ]. Following the glide /w/ and preceding a velar consonant it can be realised as [ɔ]. Between two laterals it can be realised as [æ].

/janggalany/	[ɟaŋəɭaɲ] ‘firewood’
/wangka/	[wɔŋgʌ] ‘word, language’
/kata/	[kaʌ] ‘head’
/laltu/	[lældʊ] ‘many’

There are some instances of vowel harmony in a small number of words. The high front vowel /i/ alternates with the high back vowel /u/ in the words listed below. The examples below indicate that vowel harmony occurs to avoid sequences of /i/ – /u/ and /u/ – /i/. It is not limited to particular speakers and is attested in Wangkajunga and the neighbouring Kukatja. There are both medial and word final examples.

<i>wirrimanu</i> ~ <i>wirrumanu</i>	‘name of a community’
<i>wirripuwa</i> ~ <i>wirrupuwa</i>	‘to throw away’
<i>minyiparnta</i> ~ <i>minyuparnta</i>	‘bettong or rat kangaroo’
<i>jurtirangu</i> ~ <i>jurturangu</i>	‘rainbow’

The following examples show a partial harmony between *-jarti* and *-jartu*.

<i>minijarti</i> ~ <i>minijartu</i>	‘type of blue-tongue lizard’
<i>Ngaranjartu</i> ~ <i>Ngaranjarti</i>	‘place name’
<i>turtujartu</i> ~ <i>turtujarti</i>	‘Desert Walnut tree’

Note: There are narrative techniques in Wangkajunga that influence the pronunciation of some vowel phonemes. Word final vowels are lengthened extensively to add emphasis to distance or time. Sentences are whispered in some circumstances. This is discussed in §2.6.

2.1.2.2 Long vowels

Wangkajunga has a small number of words with long vowels. If a word is monosyllabic and ends in a vowel then the vowel will be long except for the conjunction *ka* (§2.3.1). The monosyllabic demonstratives, *ngaa* and *jii* are examples. Long vowels occur in the first syllable of the word although this is not the case with reduplicated words. Examples of contrasts between long and short vowels have been recorded. These are as follows:

<i>marra</i> ‘get it’	<i>maarra</i> ‘somewhere’
<i>lunki</i> ‘edible grub’	<i>luurn(pa)</i> ‘kingfisher’
<i>munga</i> ‘night’	<i>muungu</i> ‘fly’

Long vowels are used in some introduced words to more accurately reproduce the sounds of English.

<i>tii</i> ‘tea’
<i>maaja</i> ‘master’

Long vowels are also found in some onomatopoeic words. The two reduplicated forms show that long vowels can occur in the second part of a reduplicated word.

<i>kaaruka</i> ‘crow’
<i>piinyipiinypa</i> ‘small bird’
<i>nguurrnguurr</i> ‘grunt, snore’

2.2 Phonotactics

The phonotactics of Wangkajunga follow a pattern that is similar to many Australian languages. Wangkajunga words begin with a consonant including the semivowels /w/ and /y/. The consonants permitted in root final position are the apical nasals and laterals, the palatal nasal and lateral and the alveolar tap. Wangkajunga has a general constraint against word-final consonants, with the exception of the apico-alveolar and apico-post-alveolar nasals, and adds an epenthetic syllable /pa/ where words would otherwise be consonant final. In this respect Wangkajunga is similar to a number of other Western Australian languages. These include the languages of the Kardu group, Yingkarta and Wajarri as well as other languages of the Western Desert.

Generally words have at least two morae. The rare monosyllabic words are the demonstratives *ngaa*, ‘this’ and *jii*, ‘that’, and the conjunction *ka*. Long vowels occur only in the first syllable of a word, except for a small number of reduplicated words. Consonant clusters consisting of two members only are found word medially. Consonant clusters do not generally occur in initial position, although occasional vowel deletions result in a very small number of examples. See §2.4.3.3. Wangkajunga syllables appear to be CV(V)(C).

Wangkajunga words begin with a semi-vowel or any consonant except the lamino-palatal lateral or the apico-alveolar tap. Words beginning with alveolar stops and nasals and the alveolar approximant are possible but infrequent. All consonants can appear intervocalically. Although Wangkajunga words phonemically begin with a semi-vowel these may be dropped word initially where the following vowel corresponds in height and backness (§2.1.1.8). In this feature Wangkajunga is similar to a number of other languages

of north Western Australia; Walmajarri, Nyangumarta, Yinjibarndi and Panyjima and the other north western languages of the Western Desert; Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra, Kartujarra and Yulparija.

The consonants permitted in root final position are /n/, /rn/, /ny/, /l/, /rl/, /ly/ and /rr/. See §2.2.4 below about selected introduced words.

2.2.1 Word initial consonants

Unlike the southern dialects of the Western Desert language, Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985) and Pitjantjatjara (Eckert and Hudson 1988), Wangkajunga words do not begin with a vowel. The word initial consonants are shown in Table 2.2 and Table 2.3 shows the frequency of occurrence of the word initial phonemes in a 700 word list.

Table 2.2: Word initial consonants

<i>t/rt</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>n/rn</i>		<i>ny</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>l/rl</i>		<i>ly</i>		
<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>			
		<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>

Table 2.3: Frequency of occurrence of word initial consonant phonemes

<i>k</i>	18%	<i>ny</i>	5%
<i>m</i>	16%	<i>t/rt</i>	3%
<i>j</i>	14%	<i>l/rl</i>	2.5%
<i>w</i>	12%	<i>n/rn</i>	.8%
<i>p</i>	10%	<i>r</i>	.7%
<i>y</i>	9%	<i>ly</i>	0
<i>ng</i>	8%	<i>rr</i>	0

2.2.2 Root final consonants

Wangkajunga permits the non-peripheral sonorants /n/, /rn/, /ny/, /l/, /rl/, /ly/ and /rr/ root finally. These sounds are followed by ‘*pa*’ word finally to ensure that words generally end in a vowel. Words ending in /n/ have been found in the texts. These are discussed in §2.2.4. A very small number of introduced words are attested with final consonants. Two examples are given below and a further example is given in §2.2.4.3.

liplip ‘women’s dance’
wurtwurt ‘Spotted Nightjar’, a type of bird

The root final consonants are set out in Table 2.4. These are the non-peripheral sonorants except for the continuants */r/, */w/ and */y/, which are disallowed.

Table 2.4: Root final consonants

<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>ly</i>		
<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>			
		<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>

Table 2.5 below sets out the frequency of occurrence of the root final consonants based on a 700 word list. The remaining 86% are vowel final words.

Table 2.5: Frequency of occurrence of root final consonants

<i>n</i>	3%
<i>rn</i>	1%
<i>ny</i>	3%
<i>l</i>	3%
<i>rl</i>	1%
<i>ly</i>	1%
<i>rr</i>	4%

2.2.3 Consonant clusters

2.2.3.1 Intra-morphemic consonant clusters

Consonant clusters rarely occur in word initial position. The rare examples are a result of the vowel deletion rule discussed in §2.4.3.3. Table 2.6 illustrates the permissible consonant clusters occurring word medially found in simple words.

Table 2.6: Intra-morphemic consonant clusters

	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>mp</i>					
<i>n</i>	<i>np</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>nk</i>	<i>nm</i>	<i>nng</i>
<i>rn</i>	<i>rnp</i>	<i>rnt</i>		<i>rnk</i>	<i>rnm</i>	<i>rnng</i>
<i>ng</i>				<i>ngk</i>		
<i>l</i>	<i>lp</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>lj</i>	<i>lk</i>		
<i>rl</i>	<i>rlp</i>	<i>rlt</i>	<i>rlj</i>	<i>rlk</i>		
<i>ly</i>	<i>lyp</i>					
<i>rr</i>	<i>rrp</i>		<i>rrj</i>	<i>rrk</i>	<i>rrm</i>	<i>rrng</i>

The first sound of a word medial two member consonant cluster can be an apical or laminal nasal or lateral or apical tap. The second sound of the two member consonant cluster can be a stop or, albeit infrequently, a peripheral nasal. The apical stops only occur after apical nasals or laterals. As the first sound of a cluster the labial nasal /m/ is only

followed by the labial stop /p/ and velar nasal /ng/ is only followed by the velar stop /k/. Thus these consonant clusters can be divided into:

- i. a set of homorganic nasal-stop clusters (*mp*, *ngk*, *nt*, *rnt* and *nj*)
- ii. a set of heterorganic lateral-stop clusters (*lp*, *rlp*, *lt*, *rlt*, *lk*, *rlk*, *lj*, *rlj*)
- iii. a small set of heterorganic tap plus nasal and tap plus stop clusters (*rrp*, *rrk*, *rrj* and *rrnga*, *rrm*)
- iv. a small set of nasal-stop (*np*, *nk*) and nasal-nasal clusters (*rnm*, *rnng*, *nm* and *nng*)

The frequency of the occurrence of these intra-morphemic clusters in the simple words, without derivations, inflections or clitics, of a 700-word list is set out in Table 2.7. The numbers represent the actual occurrences of intra-morphemic clusters.

Table 2.7: Frequency of occurrence of intra-morphemic word medial consonant clusters

Homorganic nasal-stop	Heterorganic lateral-stop	Heterorganic nasal-nasal, nasal-stop	Heterorganic rhotic-stop, rhotic-nasal
<i>nt</i> 29	<i>lk</i> 10	<i>nm</i> 3	<i>rrk</i> 14
<i>ngk</i> 20	<i>lp</i> 8	<i>rnng</i> 2	<i>rrp</i> 8
<i>rnt</i> 18	<i>rlp</i> 8	<i>nng</i> 2	<i>rrj</i> 5
<i>mp</i> 15	<i>rlk</i> 7	<i>rnm</i> 1	Total 27
<i>nj</i> 15	<i>lj</i> 6	Total 8	
Total 97	<i>hyp</i> 4		rhotic nasal
	<i>rlt</i> 3	<i>nk</i> 17	<i>rrm</i> 3
	<i>lt</i> 3	<i>rnk</i> 4	<i>rrng</i> 1
	<i>rlj</i> 2	<i>np</i> 3	Total 4
	<i>lyk</i> 1	<i>rnp</i> 1	
	Total 52	Total 25	

The homorganic nasal-stop cluster *ngk* occurs in the locative suffix and two cross-referencing clitics, the reflexive *ngku* and the second person singular dative *ngku*.

Examples of the less common consonant clusters are listed below:

<i>np</i>	<i>nanpu</i> ‘frog sp.’ <i>Winpa</i> ‘place name’
<i>rnp</i>	<i>karnpaku</i> ‘clapsticks’
<i>rrm</i>	<i>wirrmijinji</i> ‘marsupial mole’ <i>jirrmily</i> ‘sweat’
<i>nm</i>	<i>nyunma</i> ‘burnt ground’ <i>nyanmi</i> ‘grass seed’
<i>rnm</i>	<i>marnma</i> ‘small wooden dish’
<i>ngm</i>	<i>lungminka</i> ‘type of blue-tongue lizard’
<i>nng</i>	<i>nyunnga</i> ‘soft’
<i>rnng</i>	<i>narnngujarra</i> ‘hook spear’

rnng *warnnga* ‘upper back’
rrng *jarrnga* ‘cuts in a tree for climbing’

An odd consonant cluster is attested within words, that have been introduced from Kriol or from another Australian language.

tp *watpala* ‘white person’
kutparuparu ‘magpie’

2.2.3.2 Inter-morphemic consonant clusters

Very few consonant clusters occur at the boundary of the word and the suffix as the syllable ‘*pa*’ is suffixed to most stems that would otherwise close with a consonant. In ten typed pages of text, consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries occurred at an average of 13 per page. The set of consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries is a smaller set of the consonant clusters within words with the exceptions noted below. These are set out in Table 2.8 below.

Table 2.8: Inter-morphemic consonant clusters

	<i>-pa</i>	ERG- <i>tu</i> , LOC- <i>ta</i>	ERG- <i>ju</i> , LOC- <i>ja</i>	DAT- <i>ku</i>	CAUS - <i>ma</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>p</i> <i>mp</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>np</i>		<i>nj</i>	<i>Nk</i>	<i>nm</i>
<i>rn</i>					<i>rnm</i>
<i>ny</i>				<i>Nyk</i>	
<i>ng</i>				<i>Ngk</i>	
<i>l</i>	<i>lp</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>lj</i>	<i>Lk</i>	
<i>rl</i>	<i>rlp</i>	<i>rlt</i>	<i>rlj</i>		
<i>ly</i>	<i>lyp</i>		<i>lyj</i>		
<i>rr</i>	<i>rrp</i>		<i>rrj</i>	<i>Rrk</i>	<i>rrm</i>

The consonant clusters of the lateral plus velar nasal and lateral plus labial nasal are attested across morpheme boundaries but not within simple words. They occur in the following examples.

lng *yunkalngara* ‘tried to shoot’
lm *pawulmanin* ‘calling out’

Unusual consonant clusters are also attested across morpheme boundaries when words introduced from English or Kriol are suffixed by a Wangkajunga suffix or the epenthetic ‘*pa*’.

dp *seedpa*
dk *seedku* ‘for seeds’
 roadku ‘for the road’
tj *fresh meat-jiraja* ‘lacking fresh meat’
tk *market-kutu* ‘to the market’

Examples of rare consonant clusters are also found across morpheme boundaries in reduplicated words. Examples of these are listed below:

<i>lw</i>	<i>wujulwujul</i> ‘very narrow’
<i>lm</i>	<i>minjilminjil</i> ‘type of kangaroo’
<i>rrng</i>	<i>ngurrngurr</i> ‘pig’
<i>rnl</i>	<i>lamparnlamparn</i> ‘rather small’

The very productive causative suffix *-ma* is frequently encountered with words introduced from Kriol (§1.5). The cluster /mm/ is formed by the addition of the Wangkajunga causative *-ma* to the Kriol transitive marker *-im*. Although this is written as a consonant cluster it is pronounced as the single bi-labial nasal /m/. Two examples of these words are given below.

<i>mintimmaninpa</i>	[mindimΛninba] ‘sewing’
<i>wajimmaninpa</i>	[wajimΛninba] ‘washing’

2.2.4 Consonant final restrictions

Wangkajunga has restrictions on consonant final words and has two means of adding a vowel:

1. the addition of the epenthetic syllable *-pa*,
2. the addition of high vowels to introduced words.

2.2.4.1 The epenthetic syllable ‘pa’

The general function of the epenthetic syllable ‘pa’ is to add a CV to all classes of consonant final words. There are some exceptions to this general rule. The particular functions of *-pa* are described below.

1. The epenthetic syllable *-pa* occurs on the end of monosyllabic roots to make them disyllabic. For example; *jiinpa* ‘these’, *ngaapa* ‘this’.
2. The epenthetic syllable *-pa* occurs on the ends of words which would otherwise end in the consonants /n/, /rn/, /ny/, /l/, /rl/, /ly/ and /rr/. For example; *wartilpa* ‘hunting’, *kilyirrupa* ‘coals’, *nyininpa* ‘sitting’.
3. The epenthetic syllable *-pa* occurs on the end of some words borrowed from English. These include both consonant and vowel final words, for example: *lizardpa*, *huntingpa*, *gooseberrypa*, *roadboardcamppa*.
4. The epenthetic syllable *-pa* occurs between words and pronominal clitics. As pronominal clitics are attached to vowel final words the epenthetic *-pa* occurs between the word and the clitic. The *-pa* syllable is added to any class of word in this position. This is shown by examples 2.1 to 2.3 where the *-pa* syllable is added to a nominal in 2.1, a verb in 2.2 and a free pronoun in 2.3.

- 2.1 *Marrany-pa-ya waja-nin.*
 dingo-PA-3plS say-PRES
 They say ‘dingo’. [BRNS]

- 2.2 *Pung-in-pa-ya*
hit-PRES-PA-3plS
'They are hitting'.
- 2.3 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma*
1sg-PL-PA-1plexS in.camp stay-PSTIMP
We used to stay in the camp. [DHN]

The fact that the end of the word and the initial consonant of the pronominal clitic form a permissible consonant cluster in Wangkajunga is not significant for the insertion of *-pa*. Examples 2.4 and 2.5 illustrate this point.

- 2.4 *Ya-nin-pa-pula.*
go-PRES-PA-3dlS
They are going. [SWPN]
- 2.5 *Yu-ngun-pa-jananya kartiya-lu.*
give-PST-PA-3plO European-ERG
The white man gave it to them. [FLBD]

2.2.4.2 Where the epenthetic syllable *-pa* is not added

1. The syllable '*pa*' is not added to relationship terms ending in consonants when they have a vocative use.

Kurntal! 'Niece!'

2. The syllable '*-pa*' is not always added to the present tense suffix *-in*. Hansen and Hansen (1978:39) suggest that *-pa* is optional after the present tense suffix in Pintupi when the suffix occurs before a pause. This description also applies to the Wangkajunga example 2.6 below. This point needs further analysis. The following examples are taken from different paragraphs of the same text in the Appendix. This text has a relatively informal style. I have underlined the present tense suffixes with and without the addition of the epenthetic '*pa*'.

- 2.6 *Ya-nu-pula parra-pula pu-ngu. Malaku-pula yan-in.*
go-PST-3dlS around-3dlS hit-PST return-3dlS go-PRES
The two of them walked around hunting. They're coming back. [SWPN1]
- 2.7 *An malaku-pula ya-nin-pa kuka-kurlu.*
CONJ return-3dlS go-PRES-PA meat-HAV
And they're coming back with the meat. [SWPN1]

3. The epenthetic syllable '*pa*' is not added to words ending in the second person singular subject *-n*. This is shown in examples 2.8 and 2.9

- 2.8 *Ngana-n ngaa wajan-in.*
INT-2sgS DEM say-PRES
What do you say for this? [NBK2:96]
- 2.9 *Ka-n ya-nu nyarra-wana.*
CONJ-2sgS go-PST DEM-PERL

And you went across that way. [NBK2:42]

4. The epenthetic *-pa* is not always added to consonant final words of four or more syllables. The following words were recorded with out the *-pa* syllable.

kakarrarturl ‘marsupial mouse’
tarrkamungal ‘eagle’

Wangkajunga also has a clitic *-pa* which occurs at the end of a clause. This is illustrated by example 2.10. In this example the speaker is adding emphasis to her discussion about traditional foods. There is a rising intonation on the final word and an emphasis of the *-pa* syllable.

- 2.10 *an* *kuka* *laltu-pa*,
 and(E) game lots-PA
 and lots of game. [DHN]

2.2.4.3 Insertion of a vowel

The texts include a number of introduced words which end in stop /p/, /t/ and /k/ and which are not augmented by *-pa*. There is a small number of pan-Kimberley words introduced to the language from an unknown source, perhaps an Australian creole language. There are also pan-Kimberley words that were historically English. My examples indicate that high back and front vowels can be added to loan words from English ending in /k/. Other examples show that individual consonant final introduced words remain consonant final. The introduced words are listed below.

Words borrowed from English with vowel insertion:

puliki ‘bullock’
tintaku ‘tinned meat’ (lit. ‘tinned dog’)
wiku ‘week, Sunday’

Words from an unknown source with vowel insertion:

kartaku ‘mug, billy can’

Words from an unknown source that always end in a consonant:

liplip ‘women’s dance’
kipilyuk ‘duck’ (generic)
wurtwurt ‘Spotted Nightjar’, a type of bird

These words may be onomatopoeic.

2.3 The minimal word in Wangkajunga

2.3.1 *Ka* and *maa*

Many languages of the world are subject to a constraint on the minimum size of a well-formed word. This is usually two light syllables or a single heavy syllable (Harvey and Borowsky 1999:89). Wangkajunga has a conjunction *ka* which is a monosyllabic word

with a short vowel. In example 2.11 the stress is on the first syllable of *-laju* and not *ka* and a short vowel is produced. Yankunytjatjara has a contrastive conjunction *kaa* and the directional prefix *maa-* which both have long vowels (Goddard 1985:12). Both these forms are found in Wangkajunga with similar functions, although different forms. The conjunction *ka* can be an independent word in Wangkajunga and *maa-* is a prefix. Wangkajunga *maa-* has a long vowel.

- 2.11 *ka-laju* *parra-wana-rnu*.
 CONJ-1plexS around-follow-PST
 And we followed it everywhere. [KNG]

In example 2.12 the primary stress is on *maa-* and a long vowel is produced.

- 2.12 *Maa-tati-lku-ø*
 away-climb-FUT-ABS
 It will climb away.

2.4 Morphophonemics

Wangkajunga speakers make frequent use of the ‘*pa*’ morpheme. The number of morphophonemic processes resulting from the unacceptable clustering of consonants is therefore limited. A brief discussion of the phonological processes that influence the forms of nominal and verbal morphemes is included here.

2.4.1 Ergative *-lu*, *-ju*, *-tu*

The ergative suffix has two allomorphs *-lu*, after vowels and *-ju* after consonants. The *-ju* allomorph is attested in the environment of all final consonants.

- kunyarr-ju* ‘dog-ERG’
maparn-ju ‘Aboriginal doctor-ERG’
mankarl-ju ‘grass-ERG’
Kurtal-ju ‘waterhole.name-ERG’

Following introduced words the ergative allomorph alternates between *-ju* and *-tu*. These examples indicate that *-ju* and *-tu* occur in similar environments. There are no examples of the *-tu* allomorph with Wangkajunga words except for nominalised examples as shown below. The final example in the list below ends in a vowel but has the *-tu* allomorph. This is a pan-Kimberley word of unknown origin.

- engine-tu* ‘engine-ERG’
misiss-ju ‘white woman-ERG’
Lasarus-tu ‘personal.name-ERG’
Glyn-ju ‘personal.name-ERG’
kartiya-tu ‘European-ERG’

The *-lu* allomorph is also found on introduced words. In the second example Road Boardulu the speaker has inserted the high back vowel /u/ before the *-lu* allomorph.

- Barry-lu* ‘personal.name-ERG’
Road.Board-u-lu ‘company.name-ERG’

The *-tu* allomorph is used when subordinate clauses are marked by an ergative suffix in agreement with the actors of a main clause.

pajanjan-tu 'the ones who were biting'

2.4.2 Locative *-ngka*, *-ja*, *-ta*

The locative suffix *-ngka* has similar allomorphs to the ergative. The *-ngka* suffix occurs after vowels and the *-ja* allomorph after consonants. As with the ergative case, the examples indicate that *-ja* occurs after any final consonant in Wangkajunga words.

tilytily-ja 'red-coloured sand-LOC'
kartal-ja 'hole-LOC'
nyurriny-ja 'small intestine-LOC'

Following introduced words the locative allomorphs alternate between *-ja* and *-ta*. The examples indicate that *-ja* and *-ta* occur in similar environments.

windmill-ja 'windmill-LOC'
table-ta 'table-LOC'
bed-ja 'bed-LOC'
desert-ta 'desert-LOC'
elephant-ta 'elephant-LOC'
plane-ta 'plane-LOC'
highwan-ja 'high LOC'

2.4.3 Other morphophonemic changes

2.4.3.1 Consonant alternation

The constraint against lateral plus nasal clusters results in a consonant alternation process in 'l' class verbs. In the past imperfective stems the lateral is replaced by an apical alveolar nasal in lateral plus nasal clusters. This process is limited to lateral plus nasal clusters preceding inflections of one syllable.

pakal + ma > *pakan-ma* 'getting up'
pakal + mara > *pakal + mara* 'would have got up'

2.4.3.2 Vowel insertion

A process of vowel insertion occurs on introduced words which end in stop or peripheral nasal. These examples are repeated from §2.2.4.3.

puliki 'bullock'
tintaku 'tinned meat' (lit. 'tinned dog')
wiku 'week, Sunday'

The *-ngka* suffix also occurs on introduced words after the insertion of a vowel.

week-u-ngka 'on the weekend'
Broome-u-ngka 'in Broome'

2.4.3.3 Vowel deletion

Consonant clusters in initial position are attested in a small number of words where the high back vowel /u/ or the high front vowel /i/ has been elided before another sonorant. The process also occurs in word medial position. The following are examples.

<i>Kurungal</i>	→	<i>Krungal</i> ‘community name’
<i>kilinykiliny</i>	→	<i>klinykliny</i> ‘galah’
<i>purupuru</i>	→	<i>prupru</i> ‘frog species’
<i>yakapuri</i>	→	<i>yakapri</i> ‘plant species’
<i>pimiri</i>	→	<i>pimri</i> ‘father’s sister’

In one form of the present tense morpheme there is a process of vowel deletion. (More than one form of the present tense morpheme has been recorded with different Wangkajunga speakers. This is discussed in §8.2.)

The present tense forms for the *ø*, *wa* and *rra* verb conjugation classes undergo a vowel deletion process when the verb stem ends in a vowel and the tense inflection begins with a vowel. The final vowel of the verb stem is deleted before the *-in* inflection. This is illustrated below for three sample verbs.

nyina+in > *nyinin* *punga+in* > *pungin* *yana+in* > *yanin*

2.4.3.4 Vowel insertion

Inchoative suffix -rri and -arri

The inchoative suffix has the allomorphs *-rri* and *-arri*. The *-rri* allomorph occurs after vowel final stems. After consonant final stems the vowel /a/ is inserted before *-rri*.

minjil-a-rri-ngu ‘become an orphan’
ngarlpu-rri-ngu ‘to be players’

2.4.3.5 Syllable deletion

When the final syllable of a word is identical to the initial syllable of the following morpheme, one syllable can be deleted.

<i>pajanjananutu</i>	→	<i>pajanjantu</i>	‘the ones who were biting’
<i>nyinanjananu</i>	→	<i>nyinanjanu</i>	‘while sitting’
<i>piti-ngka-kamu</i>	→	<i>piti--ngkamu</i>	‘dish-LOC-CONJ’

maa-wirrjanu* > *mawujanu

When the direction prefix *maa-* precedes a word initial glide plus high vowel the two initial syllables are reduced to a diphthong. In the following example /mawu/ is realised as [maʊ].

maa-wirrjanu → *maujanu* ‘run this way’

2.5 Stress

Stress in Wangkajunga is typical of other Western Desert languages, and Australian languages generally, in that the unmarked primary stress falls on the initial syllable. Primary stress is characterised by increased loudness. Secondary stress then falls on the second of the two following unstressed syllables. Stress assignment is marked from left to right and the final syllable is usually unstressed although there are exceptions. The following examples of word level stress are illustrations. The stressed syllable is underlined.

<i>jamu</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>marnma</i>	‘small wooden dish’
<i>minyili</i>	‘type of fruit’
<i>lukararra</i>	‘seed from spinifex species’

The final syllable of a word is rarely stressed. Two examples of polysyllabic, yet monomorphemic words, with word final stress are as follows:

<i>kakarrarturl</i>	‘marsupial mole’
<i>purrukupan</i>	‘edible sugary deposit on leaves’

Some words for introduced species historically made up of two morphemes still retain the primary stress of the two morphemes.¹ There is no current morpheme *-muka* in Wangkajunga.

ngalya-nga-muka ‘cat’
[forehead-?]-?

Reduplicated words receive primary stress on the first syllable of each reduplicand.

<i>kitikiti</i>	‘armpit’
<i>jirntirrjirntirrpa</i>	‘Willy wagtail’
<i>kawankawanpa</i>	‘crazy’
<i>mirrmirrmaninpa</i>	‘shivering’

Clitics and suffixes are not part of the phonological word for stress assignment. Polysyllabic and disyllabic suffixes receive initial stress independently of the word stem. The stress pattern follows two rules. Firstly, primary stress should occur on the first syllable of as many morphemes as possible. Secondly, the occurrence of two adjacently stressed syllables should be avoided.

<i>jii-ngulyu</i>	<i>tali-nguru</i>
DEM-EMPH	sandhill-ABL
<i>ngurra-kutu</i>	<i>kankani-nguru</i>
house-ALL	on top-ABL
<i>kakarra-kutu</i>	
east –ALL	

¹ Warlpiri has a compound with *ngalya* describing cats *Minija ngulaju ngalya-turlkunku*. ‘cats they are forehead-bulging’. Manyjilyjarra has a number of compounds with *ngalya* denoting personal characteristics; for example, *ngalya-nantirrpa* forehead-hard ‘stubborn’. Kukatja has a compound with *ngalya* and *kinti* ‘close’ for a small desert animal *ngalyakinti* ‘quoll’.

kartiya-kurangu
European-possessive

kalyu-karraja-pinti
fishing.line-DWELL-THING

Cross-referencing clitics receive initial primary stress. In some examples such as 2.17 two primary stresses can follow each other.

2.13 *ka-laju ya-nu*
CONJ-1plexS go-PST
and we went

2.14 *palunya-janu-laju*
DEM-ABL-1plexS
after that we

2.15 *wituka-lampaju-ya*
again-1plexDAT-3plS
also they for us

2.16 *karrpi-nun-pa-jananya*
tie.up-PST-PA-3plO
he tied them up [NBK2]

2.17 *parna-ngka-pa-ya-jananya ju-nu*
ground-LOC-PA-3plS-3plO put-PST
they put them on the ground

The sentence connective *ka* does not receive primary stress. In example 2.13 above the primary stress is on the first syllable of the first person plural cross-referencing clitic. In example 2.18, although the speaker pauses before the sentence connective the primary stress still falls on the initial syllable of *ngarlpu* rather than on *ka*. The speakers' pause is indicated by #.

2.18 *Yurlta-laju nyina-ma# ka ngarlpu-rri-ma-ya tali-wana.*
in.camp-1plexS stay-PSTIMP CONJ play-INCH-PSTIMP-3plS sandhill-PERL
We used to stay in camp and they used to play along the sandhills. [DHN]

One exception to this pattern occurs in narratives about past experiences. In these stories there is a recurring phrase with the following stress assignment.

2.19 *yungunypa-kanu*

The primary stress falls on the first syllable of *yungunypa* 'morning' as well as on the first syllable of *kanu*. Translation of the phrase reveals that it should be

2.20 *yunguny-pa paka-rnu*
morning-PA rise-PAST
got up in the morning

In fast speech one of the syllables has been dropped and the primary stress is on what should be the second syllable of the verb *pakarnu* 'rise, get up'. Syllable deletion is discussed in §2.4.3.5.


2.6 Intonation

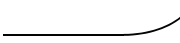
In this section I discuss changes in pitch and tempo that distinguish phrases from the normal intonation of Wangkajunga speech. Declarative statements in Wangkajunga are generally characterised by an initial slightly higher pitch and then a very gradual decrease to the final word of the phrase. This discussion describes a number of intonation contours that can be distinguished from this declarative pattern in both conversation and recorded texts.

2.6.1 Conversation intonation


2.6.1.1 Question intonation

Questions have a rising intonation. In tag questions, such as example 2.21, the whole phrase has a rising intonation with the final higher rise on the tag.

- 2.21 *Ya-nku-rna-nta, kurlu?*
 go-FUT-1sgS-2sgACS TAG
 I'll go with you, OK? [NBK3:64]
- 

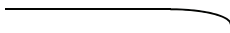
- 2.22 *Yuwayi. Palya-ju-n?*
 AFF well-1sgDAT-2sgS
 Well, are you happy with my [story]? [KNG]
- 

Rhetorical questions have a less distinctive rise than questions that require an answer.

- 2.23 *Ngaa palunya-janu-lu ngana-kujupa?*
 DEM after.that-ERG what-another
 And after those who else? [KNG]
- 

2.6.1.2 Imperative intonation

Imperative forms used as chastisement or warning are louder than preceding speech and have a falling intonation.

- 2.24 *Pu-ngku-rna-nta!*
 hit-FUT-1sgS-2sgO
 I'll hit you!
- 

2.6.1.3 Request intonation

There are two different types of intonation used for requests. The first is illustrated by example 2.25. This is used for a simple request for the fulfilment of a need such as food or drink, money, an item of clothing or transport. There is no necessity in these cases to add extra vocabulary such as the English 'please'. These requests are equivalent to simple statements and have no distinctive rise or fall in intonation.

- 2.29 *Jurtu-laju nyaku-ngaran-ma 'Huntim dat puluman'*
 dust-1plexS see-OBLIG-PSTIMP hunt(K) that cattle
 If we saw the dust we'd say, 'Hunt those cattle'. [DHN]

2.6.2.3 Extended distance or height intonation

Quite distinctive intonation is used in Wangkajunga texts to illustrate long distances. The final vowel of the phrase is lengthened and continued at the same pitch. The vowel lengthening is indicative of the distance travelled. If the distance is great the speaker can take a breath and then continue the lengthened vowel. The lengthened vowel can take on a creaky quality. In example 2.30 the final vowel of *kankani* has been extended to emphasise the height of a sandhill. In this example there is a rise in pitch in association with the rise in height.

In example 2.31 the speaker repeats the word *wanarnu* 'follow' ten times to indicate the very long distance she travelled. Although there is no change in pitch the repetition of the word is accompanied by a noticeable increase in tempo. The final vowel of *wanarnu* is dropped as the word is repeated. When the travellers reach the desired destination, the Kaningara road, there is a rise in pitch.

- 2.30 *Ya-nu-lajuuuuuu trailer-lampaju ngartalya-nu kutu-ngka tali-ngka,*
 go-PST-1plexS trailer-1plDAT break-PST middle-LOC sandhill-LOC
pilyurr-pilyurr-ja kankanii.
 steep-RDP-LOC up
 We went on for some distance. The trailer broke on us when we were high up on a very steep sandhill. [KNG]
- 2.31 *Ya-nu-lajuuuuuu roadcamp-pa-laju ya-nu wana-rnu(x10)*
 go-PST-1plS Road.Board.camp-PA-1plexS go-PST follow-PST
ka-laju road-pa wana-nu na.
 CONJ-1plexS road-PA follow-PST FOC
 We went for quite a long way and came to the Road Board track and then followed that for a really long way and then we came to the [Kaningara] road and followed that. [KNG]

2.6.2.4 List intonation

Wangkajunga texts about the speakers' traditional life in the desert frequently include lists of the foods found in the desert environment. These lists have a similar pitch but a slower tempo than the general narrative as the speaker tends to pause as she thinks of each item. The list is often interrupted by phrases such as *ngapi* 'um', or *nganakujupa* 'what's another one', or elaborations about particular items. A rise in pitch may occur at the end of the list, as in example 2.33, to add emphasis to the fact that the food was plentiful.

- 2.32 *Kuka-nga jii-nga-laju bushmana-nga punga-ma, nyinkurlu*
 game-FOC DEM-FOC-1plexS traditional-FOC hit-PSTIMP lizard
kamu, mala kamu, mingajurru kamu
 CONJ wallaby CONJ bandicoot CONJ
 That's the traditional food we ate, lizards, wallabies and bandicoots. [DHN]

- 2.33 *An, waltaki, kuka bushman an parnaparnti, an kuka laltu-pa,*
 CONJ fox, meat traditional CONJ goanna CONJ meat lots-pa
 And foxes, they're desert food, and goannas, and loads of animals, [DHN]

2.6.2.5 Other narrative intonation

One speaker used the contrast between a level pitch and then a sharp rise and fall to convey a circuitous route in the recount of a hunting event.

- 2.34 *Wana-rnu kayili, parra-malaku-nu ka wana-rnu yirrpi-rnu*
 follow-PST north around-return-PST CONJ follow-PST enter-PST

palunya-kurnu-ngku
 DEM-POSS-REFL
 He tracked it north, then around and back again, and then tracked it to where it
 went into its own hole. [KNG]

2.7 Comparative phonology of neighbouring Ngumbic languages and languages of the Western Desert

In this section I compare some of the main phonological features of the north western dialects of the Western Desert namely Kukatja, Kartujarra, Manyilyjarra, Yulparija, Wangkajunga and Pintupi with the south western dialects Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. The same features from four of the northern neighbours of the Western Desert, Jaru, Mangala, Nyangumarta, and Walmajarri are also compared.

2.7.1 The phoneme inventories

The phoneme inventories of each of the languages is charted and the features of the epenthetic syllable *-pa*, the constraints on vowel initial words and syllable structure are discussed.

The same inventory, although with minor orthographic differences, is described for all the Western Australian languages of the Western Desert. There are minor differences in the way linguists have grouped the phonemes particularly the apico-post-alveolar approximant /r/. This same inventory has also been set up for the northern neighbours of the Western Desert, Walmajarri, Nyangumarta and Warlpiri. Jaru has a similar inventory but without the contrast in vowel length for the high front vowel /i/ and the high back vowel /u/.

Table 2.9: A phoneme inventory for Western Desert languages and four northern neighbouring languages**CONSONANTS**

	Non-peripheral			Peripheral	
	apico-alveolar	apico-post-alveolar	lamino-palatal	bilabial	dorso-velar
stop	<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>j/tj</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>
nasal	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>
lateral	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>ly</i>		
tap	<i>rr</i>				
approximant		<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	

VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	<i>i, ii</i>	<i>u, uu</i>
Low	<i>a, aa</i>	

2.7.2 The phonological structure of words

Unlike some of the southern languages of the Western Desert, the north-western languages, like their neighbouring Ngumbic languages, do not permit vowel initial words. The following chart sets out the initial sounds of the syllables of the languages. The languages are set out in approximate descending order from north to south.

Table 2.10: Word initial sounds in Western Desert languages of four northern neighbours

Language name	Syllable initial position
Warlpiri	C
Jaru	C
Walmajarri	C
Nyangumarta	C
Yulparija	C
Kukatja	C
Wangkajunga	C
Manyjilyjarra	C
Pintupi	C
Ngaanyatjarra	C
Yankunytjatjara	V,C
Pitjantjatjara	V,C

2.7.3 The syllable -pa

Table 2.11 indicates which languages make use of the epenthetic syllable -pa.

Table 2.11: The use of the syllable *-pa* in the Western Desert and four northern neighbours

Language name	The <i>-pa</i> syllable word finally	The <i>-pa</i> syllable between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Warlpiri	word finally	between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Jaru	not used	not used
Walmajarri	not used	rarely used
Nyangumarta	not used	not used
Yulparija	word finally	between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Kukatja	word finally	between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Wangkajunga	word finally	between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Manyjilyjarra	word finally	between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Pintupi	word finally	between stem and suffix and word and clitic
Ngaanyatjarra	word finally	see below
Yankunytjatjara	not used	not used
Pitjantjatjara	word finally	not used

In Pintupi, Yulparija, Kukatja, Wangkajunga and Manyjilyjarra the *-pa* syllable optionally occurs on verbal inflections ending in the consonants /n/ and /l/. All verbal inflections in Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara end in a vowel. The consequence of this fact is that the *-pa* syllable occurs with greater frequency in the northern dialects.

2.7.3.1 Ngaanyatjarra

In their 1970 grammar Glass and Hackett argue that *-pa* is not simply phonological but has a purpose as a nominative case marker. In Ngaanyatjarra there are two notable exceptions to its occurrence on word final consonants:

the second person enclitic /-n/ occurs word finally, and vocatives such as /malany/ ‘younger brother’ allow a word final consonant. It should also be noted that names ending in a consonant occur with /-nga/ in the same position as nouns ending in a consonant with /-pa/.

Therefore it seems preferable to us to regard /-pa/ as part of the set \emptyset , /-pa/, /-nya/ and /-nga/, which function as class-markers and also as nominative case slot-markers (Glass and Hackett 1970:35).

2.7.3.2 Yankunytjatjara

Yankunytjatjara has an epenthetic vowel /a/ which may be related to *-pa*. Goddard (Goddard 1985:14) describes it in the following way:

When the addition of a clitic particle to a consonant final-word would bring about a sequence of three consonants, Yankunytjatjara inserts the epenthetic vowel /a/, e.g. *nguwan-mpa* almost-interest → *nguwanampa*, *kurrurn-lta* spirit – and then → *kurrurnalta*.

Goddard's (1985) Yankunytjatjara texts contain a small number of consonant final words. These are listed below. The introduced word 'rabbit' occurs in the text with an epenthetic /a/ in Yankunytjatjara where it would have *-pa* in Wangkajunga.

<i>tjitjipurriny</i>	'similar to a child'
<i>tjukurr</i>	'story'
<i>kurrurn</i>	'spirit'
<i>miilmiil</i>	'sacred/restricted'
<i>nganal</i>	'hole'
<i>nguwan</i>	'and then'

The Yankunytjatjara texts also contain examples of a clitic /l/ 'you see' which can occur word finally.

kutu-ngku-rna-l
really-ERG-1sg-you.see (Goddard 1985:200)

2.7.3.3 Walmajarri

Some instances of the use of an epenthetic *pa* occur in the grammar. An epenthetic *pa* is added to consonant final words before the connective clitic *-la* (§9.8.2). McConvell (1996:305) suggests a historical relationship between the epenthetic *-pa* of the northern Western Desert and the Walmajarri *pa-* auxiliary modal root.

3 *Word classes*

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the division of Wangkajunga words or lexemes into classes. The following word classes can be set up for this language:

- Nominals
- Verbs
- Particles
- The coordinator *ka*
- Interjections and Ideophones

The classes are defined by morphology, syntax and by semantics. Each word belongs to one and only one class but derivational processes can alter the class membership of a word (§4.2 for nominals and §7.4 for verbs). The two major word classes are nominals and verbs. The minor classes in the language are uninflecting words including modifiers of time and space, particles, interjections and ideophones.

The conjunction *ka* is an unusual word in the language because it is an independent word of one syllable without a long vowel. The word can stand alone but like any word in the language can also form the base for the bound pronouns. The meaning and syntax of *ka* is discussed in §11.2.

In this chapter I make broad definitions of each class of words and explain their division into sub-classes. I begin with an overview of the nominal §1. In §2 I give a broad definition of the class of verbs. In §3 I give broad definitions of the minor parts of speech and in §4 and §5 I list the exclamations and ideophones.

3.1 Nominals

Nominals belong to a large open class that is identified largely on the basis of inflections for case that relate them to the predicate or to another nominal. Nominals do not take any finite tense markers. Both nouns, the prototypical nominals, and adjectives are included in the nominal class as common nominals because they take the same derivational suffixes and case inflections. Demonstratives and pronouns are also included as nominals as they are also inflected for case. Proper nominals can be distinguished from common nominals by semantics rather than morphologically. A small group of cardinal directions that have their own location suffixes is also included in this class.

Nominals in Wangkajunga can be predicates (§10.2). This syntactic function contributes to the division of nominals into subclasses. A group of active and manner nominals are

almost always predicates. A subclass of temporal and spatial nominals can also be predicates. Common nominals can be predicates but are mostly arguments and can also modify other nominals. Pronominals are nearly always arguments and rarely predicates.

Nominals in Wangkajunga are made up of a lexical root, optional stem forming suffixes and, finally, the case inflection. Nominals can minimally consist of a nominal root plus the case marker and, as the Absolutive case is marked by zero, can sometimes consist of a nominal root without an overt case-marker. Nominals acting as predicates can also be minimal forms without overt case marking, but can also be marked for case. (§10.2) With the exception of demonstratives, nominal roots are always comprised of at least two syllables. Nominals can also have number suffixes.

3.1.1 Common nominals

Common nominals are a large open class of words. Semantically they typically denote entities. Wangkajunga common nominals include the classification of human beings by age and sex such as *jiji* ‘child’; *tuju* ‘woman’ and *parntany* ‘mature woman’, a large number of relationship and kin terms such as *yipi* ‘mother’; *kurntal* ‘niece’ and *kaja* ‘offspring’, body parts such as *mara* ‘hand’ and *yilku* ‘blood’, body function terms such as *kurlpa* ‘vomit’, terms for the physical environment such as *kalyu* ‘water’; *tali* ‘sandhill’, and the flora, such as *piyura* ‘Grevillea species’ and *karnti* ‘bush potato’, and fauna such as *parnaparnti* ‘goanna’ and *larrja* ‘King Brown Snake’, that inhabit it. There is a small set of generic nouns (§4.1) and a group of terms for time and number (§4.7). The language has adopted a number of words for non-Indigenous material goods such as cars and televisions and current technology from English. A set of compass terms has specific inflections for directions (§4.7.1.2).

Attributive adjectives can be identified semantically and distributionally but not morphologically. These are words for attributes such as emotional states like *pika* ‘anger’; values like *palya* ‘good’; physical states like ‘big’ *jarlu*, *kampa* ‘burnt’ and *yalta* ‘cold’; and physiological states such as *mimi* ‘sick’.

3.1.2 Proper nominals

Proper nominals include the names of people in English and in Wangkajunga, the names of waterholes in the desert, the names of places other than waterholes, English place names and the names of rituals and songs. Proper names also include the set of section and subsection terms such as *Purungu*, *Karimara*, *Milangka* and *Yiparrka* (§1.2). Unlike the southern languages of the Western Desert proper nominals are not distinguished morphologically from common nominals. Proper nominals do not co-occur with attributive adjectives.

3.1.3 Pronouns

Free pronouns form a very small closed class of words that are inflected according to an Ergative and Absolutive case system. Free pronouns are typically arguments. Free pronouns are inflected with a different form of the locative case marker than the one for common nominals. This is only for some speakers (§5.1.1). The plural morpheme on free pronouns is different from the plural morpheme on common nominals for most speakers (§5.1). The use of free pronouns in texts is limited to contexts needing emphasis or extra

clarification (§5.1). The typical Wangkajunga utterance contains compulsory bound pronoun clitics (§6.2) The language has interrogative pronouns (§5.3) and an indefinite pronoun (§5.4).

3.1.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a small closed class of words that indicate the location of the referent in relation to the speaker and hearer. These words are similar to common nominals in that they are inflected for case and for number. Two of the singular forms are unusual in the language in that they are monosyllabic words.

3.1.5 Manner nominals and active nominals

Manner nominals and Active nominals are almost always used as secondary predicates. They show how an action was carried out by an argument of the main clause (§10.6.3).

Manner nominals are words like *yurra* ‘thirstily’, *yaru* ‘slowly’ and *murrani* ‘continually’ and show how an action was carried out by the subject. They are marked with case in agreement with the subject (§6.1.1.4).

Active nominals are words for activities like *wartilpa* ‘hunt’, *ngarlpu* ‘play’ and *yurlta* ‘being in camp’ or emotions such as *ngulu* ‘afraid’. Active nominals can agree in case with both subject and object arguments (§6.1.1.5).

Manner nominals and active nominals are also found in other languages of the Western Desert and in neighbouring non-Western Desert languages. Their status as nominals is not clear and they have been variously classed as ‘active adjectives’ in Yankunytjatjara by Goddard (1985), ‘adverbs’ in Pitjantjatjara by Bowe (1990) and nominals in Warlpiri by Simpson (1991).

3.1.6 Temporal and spatial nominals

3.1.6.1 Temporal nominals

A group of temporal nominals is classed as a sub-class of nominals. They are inflected for the locative case and the nominal associated derivational suffix *-jarra*. These are a small group of words that refer to the times of the day (§4.7.1.1).

3.1.6.2 Direction nominals

Wangkajunga speakers make frequent use of a set of direction terms that include the compass terms plus *kankani* ‘above’ and *kanin* ‘below’. These are classed as a sub-class of nominals because they are suffixed by Ablative and Allative case suffixes. These Ablative and Allative case suffixes are particular to this group.

3.2 Verbs

Verbs are a large open class of words that are inflected for tense, mood and aspect. The language has a discrete number of simple verbs denoting actions, motions and physical positions, sensations and utterances. The meanings of the simple verbs can be expanded by the addition of nominals and ‘preverbs’ to the verbal root (§7.1). Preverbs are a small group of forms that do not occur with other classes of words and cannot occur

independently of the verb. Various morphological processes also expand the meanings of simple verbs (§7.4, 7.5).

Wangkajunga verbs are divided into four conjugation classes. Besides the complex verbs formed by the addition of preverbs Wangkajunga has a construction I have called serial verbs. These constructions also add to the meanings expressed by verbs. In the serial verb constructions a number of verbs, usually two, can act as a single predicate (Chapter 9).

Wangkajunga verbs select single arguments, two arguments or three arguments. Verbs can also select Dative or, occasionally, Locative arguments (§7.1). Examples of lexically simple verbs with one argument are *nyina* ‘sit’ and *yarra* ‘go’. Examples of simple verbs with two arguments are *pajala* ‘bite’, *puwa* ‘hit’ and *kati* ‘bring’. An example of a simple verb with three arguments is *iyiyala* ‘send’.

The stance and state verbs such as *nyina* ‘sit’, ‘stay’, *kanyila* ‘have’, and *ngara* ‘stand’ perform functions of copula verbs.

3.3 Minor parts of speech

Wangkajunga has a small number of minor parts of speech that are neither nominals nor verbs. These are optional in main clauses. They have neither case nor number inflections nor inflections for tense mood or aspect. These minor parts of speech are sentence modifiers, time and spatial modifiers, particles and clitics.

3.3.1 Sentence modifiers

Sentence modifiers are a small group of words that relate sentences in texts. They are marked in agreement with the subject of the clause (§10.6.4).

3.3.2 Time modifiers

Time modifiers are a group of independent words that refer to the times of the day (§10.6.5). They are not inflected for case nor tense mood and aspect. These are words such as *rakarra* ‘sunrise’ and *munga* ‘night’.

3.3.3 Spatial modifiers

Spatial modifiers are another small group of independent words that are not marked for case nor for tense mood or aspect (§10.6.6). These are words such as *kurranyu* ‘ahead of’ and *pina* ‘far’.

3.4 Other minor parts of speech -particles

The language has a large number of independent words that have no inflections. I have grouped these as particles (§10.6.7, §10.6.8, §10.6.9). They are adjuncts to main clauses. Particles can be grouped into those that modify events and those that modify participants. The language also has a number of clitics that are attached to words of any class (§10.6.10). These also function as modifiers of main clauses. They add speaker attitude and relate events in texts.

3.5 Other minor parts of speech -exclamations

These are a class of words that take no inflection or derivation but can function as an utterance on their own. The forms *wiya* ‘no, nothing’ and *yawi* ‘sorry’ are exceptions. These forms can be suffixed with the inchoative and then take tense inflections, for example *yawirringu* ‘was sorry’. Many of these forms are not exclusive to Wangkajunga speakers but used by speakers of the many different languages in the Fitzroy Valley (for the names of these languages see §1.4.4.2). The following is a list of exclamations. Exclamations can be exceptions to the phonological form of Wangkajunga words because they can contain sounds and word forms not found in the language.

3.5.1 Agreeing

<i>yuu</i>	yes
[k’]	a number of older speakers signal an agreement with a velar ejective stop.
clicks	many speakers signal affirmative with an alveo-palatal click. This is very infectious and is now used by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the area. The expression is made more emphatic by a slight shake of the head.
[ʌʔʌ]	Is that so?
<i>yinta</i>	Is that so?
<i>mularrpa</i>	truly?

3.5.2 Disagreeing

<i>alaa</i>	‘That can’t be true!’
<i>wiya</i>	‘No’, ‘Nothing’ This is a Wangkajunga word ¹ (§12.3).

3.5.3 Polite expressions

<i>wanyu</i>	Wait a moment, please’ This is an expression particular to Wangkajunga speakers.
<i>yawi</i>	‘Poor thing’, ‘Sorry’ Example 3.1 illustrates the use of this expression in an informal text.
<i>nyarru</i>	‘Poor thing’ The consultant says that this is the same as <i>yawi</i> but comes from further south, perhaps from Manyjilyjarra. Both this expression and <i>yawi</i> are used to indicate sympathy.
<i>nyamu</i>	‘That’s all’, ‘Goodbye’ This is a Wangkajunga word (§10.6.7).

- 3.1 *Warla-wana-pa parra-ya-nu, kawan-kawan-pa, yawi.*
lake-PERL-PA around-go-PST deaf-RDP-PA INTJCT
She went right around and across the lake, she’s forgetful poor thing. [SWPN]

¹ Although the negative particle ‘*wiya*’ is shared by all Western Desert languages it is not common to the non-Western Desert languages of the Fitzroy valley. In this sense it is a Wangkajunga word.

3.5.4 Impolite expressions

- larra* A swear word.
I have only heard this expression in the company of other women.
- warriwarri* This expression is used when someone mentions an inappropriate word such as certain body parts, a sexual innuendo, or the name of a dead person. It is also used to refer to the body part itself. This is illustrated in example 3.2.
- [ɟɪgaɬi] ‘Yuk’, ‘Don’t say that’, ‘That’s horrible’.

- 3.2 *Mimi-ya kanyi-la jina-wana kurrapa-wana warriwarri-wana*
sore-3plS have-NARPST foot-PERL arm-PERL genitals-PERL
- kamu kanyi-la-ya insideway.*
CONJ have-NARPST-3plS insides
- They would have sores across their feet, along their arms and on their genitals and they’d have them on their thighs. [SWPM]

3.5.5 Giving warnings

- palayi* ‘Look out!’
- warrawu* ‘Look out!’
This is also uttered to express discomfort or pain.

3.5.6 Coming, going and giving

- pa* ‘Let’s go’, ‘Come on’
- kaj* ‘OK, you go’,
‘Do as you said you would’.
- nya* ‘Here, take this’

3.6 Other minor parts of speech -ideophones

Wangkajunga, like most languages, has a number of words that speakers use to describe the sounds of things. The word is supposed to sound like the concept the speaker is aiming to express and is therefore an example of sound symbolism. I have grouped these words as ideophones and provide some examples below. In this brief study of ideophones in Wangkajunga I have benefited from Alpher’s comprehensive discussion of Yir-Yoront ideophones (Alpher 1994). The examples come from conversational speech as well as text examples. For example, the sound made by a digging stick was used when the speaker was explaining how she could find a bush potato below the ground. The sound made by children sucking nectar is from a text (example 3.3).

The examples I have collected to date are typically made up of the phonetic sounds found in the language. The sound made by children sucking nectar, *shlrrp shlrrp*, is an exception, as the language has no fricative sounds.

The ideophones are grouped into the sounds made by animals and birds, the sounds made by instruments such as guns or digging sticks, and the sounds made by people. These words can be used without inflections, example 3.3, or as preverbs, example 3.4.

3.6.1 Sounds made by birds

<i>kurrart</i>	the call of a Brolga
<i>nyiinyii</i>	the call of a Finch
<i>liikliik</i>	the call of a Brown Kite
<i>wurtwurt</i>	the call of a Spotted Nightjar, a type of bird
<i>tiya tiya</i>	the call of a Mudlark

3.6.2 Sounds made by animals

<i>ngurr</i> [ŋʊɾɾ:]	the growl of a frightened goanna
<i>wurtuwurtu</i>	the sound made by the Northern Nailtail Wallaby as it runs away from a hunter
<i>maa maa</i>	the sound made by sheep
<i>nguurr</i>	the grunting sound of a pig

3.6.3 Sounds made by instruments

<i>turl, turl</i> [tʊɾ]	the sound made by a digging stick as it pierces the ground above a bush potato, also the sound made by a gun being fired
<i>paanpaan</i>	the sound made by banging or hammering

3.6.4 Sounds made by people

<i>shlrrp, shlrrp</i>	the sound made when children suck the nectar from a Grevillea flower
<i>yurrrrrrr</i> [jəɾɾ]	the sound of a child sliding down a steep sandhill

- 3.3 *Kuwin-ja-nama-laju yilpurr-ja-nama sshlrrrrp, sshlrrp, jiilanya.*
 suck-ja-PSTIMP-1plexS sip-ja-PSTIMP SOUND EFFECTS SOUND like that.
 We would be sucking and sipping it shlrrp shlrrp, like that. [DHN1]

- 3.4 *Ngana-lu paan-paan-punga-ma?*
 INDEF-ERG bang-RDP-hit-PSTIMP
 Who is making a banging sound? [NBK3:74]

4 *Nominal morphology*

Introduction

Nominals are a large open class of words that inflect for case and number. A nominal word consists of the nominal root plus optional derivational suffixes followed by a case inflection. Case inflections relate the nominal argument to its predicate, which may also be a nominal, or to another nominal argument.

As the Absolutive case in Wangkajunga is marked by zero, the minimal nominal word in the language can consist of the nominal root. Nominal roots can optionally be formed by a process of reduplication (§4.1.2), or in a few cases by compounding (§4.1.3). A system of agreement marking in clauses can result in double case inflections (§6.1.5). A small group of affixes can follow the case inflections. I have described these as clitics in §10.1.2.6. The nominal word can therefore be described by the following formula:

Nominal word = nominal root-(derivation) (derivation) - inflection (inflection)

In this chapter I discuss the derivations and inflections that make up the nominal word. Section 1 describes the types of reduplication found in the language, the few recorded generic nouns and compound nominals. Section 2 has a description of the derivational affixes in Wangkajunga. Section 3 is a short introduction to case marking and semantic roles. Section 4 describes the system of grammatical cases in the language. In this chapter I discuss the functions of case suffixes that relate nominal arguments to their predicate. Case suffixes that relate nominals to nominals and that function as agreement markers are discussed in Chapter 6. Section 5 is a discussion of the semantic cases and section 6 of derivational cases. Section 7 is a short discussion of the morphology of the sub-class of temporal and spatial nominals. Section 8 is a comparison of case marking systems in Wangkajunga and the other northwestern languages of the Western Desert with the southern languages Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara and Gugada. These Western Desert languages are also compared with their traditional neighbours Nyangumarta, Walmajarri, Jaru and Warlpiri.

4.1 Generic nominals, nominal reduplication and compound nominals

4.1.1 Generic nominals

A small group of generic and specific nominals is included in the sub-class of common nominals in Wangkajunga. A discussion of the syntax of generic and specific nouns is included in §10.3. The types of generic and specific nominals found in the language are briefly described here. The following nominals can be used as generic nominals:

<i>jiji</i>	‘child’
<i>puntu</i>	‘person’
<i>kuka</i>	‘meat food’
<i>mirrka</i>	‘vegetable food’
<i>mayi</i>	‘vegetable food’
<i>mangarri</i>	‘vegetable food’
<i>warta</i>	‘bush or tree’
<i>kalyu</i>	‘waterhole’

Examples of their use with specific nominals follow.

People

<i>jiji</i>	<i>murtilya</i>	‘boy child’
child	boy	
<i>puntu</i>	<i>kurnkurn</i>	‘Aboriginal people’
man	black	
<i>puntu</i>	<i>jiji</i>	‘Aboriginal child’
man	child	

Plants and animals

The meanings of the generic nouns *kuka*, *mayi*, and *warta* have a wide reference. The generic term for meat food *kuka* includes all non-plant foods. Unlike meat food terms in English, such as ‘beef’, it can be used in certain circumstances to refer to the animal when it is still alive. Wangkajunga speakers use more than one term for non-meat foods and two of these are included in the examples *mangarri* and *mayi*. As the examples indicate these terms are now used for manufactured non-meat foods such as ‘bread’, ‘noodles’ and ‘breakfast cereals’. The term *warta* is used to refer to trees, plants and bushes as well as sticks and branches. The term is used for a living tree as well as fallen dry wood.

<i>kuka</i>	<i>lungkurta</i>	‘blue-tongue lizard meat’
meat	blue-tongue.lizard	
<i>kuka</i>	<i>mingajurru</i>	‘bandicoot meat’
meat	bandicoot	
<i>jurnta</i>	<i>mayi</i>	‘bush onion’
bush.onion	plant.food	
<i>warrangkali</i>	<i>mayi</i>	‘bush tomato’
bush.tomato	plant.food	
<i>mirrka</i>	<i>kanyjirli</i>	‘bush gooseberry’
plant.food	bush.gooseberry	
<i>mangarri</i>	<i>ngarlukurtu</i>	‘bush coconut’
plant.food	insect.gall	
<i>mangarri</i>	<i>witiz</i>	‘breakfast cereal’
plant.food	Weeties	
<i>warta</i>	<i>jipari</i>	‘jipari tree’

tree type.of.wattle.tree

walji warta 'Gum tree'

gum.tree tree

Land

The generic noun for water also has a wide reference. In the example it is used for the type of natural well that the Wangkajunga people dug up and maintained as a water source in the desert. In other uses *kalyu* has the same referent as rain and water.

road mutika 'vehicle track'

road vehicle

Kurtal kalyu 'Kurtal waterhole'

name water

Examples 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the use of generic and specific nominals in sentences.

- 4.1 *jamparn-pa kuka piti-ngka-ngula ngarr-in kanin-kanin*
 wallaby-PA game hole-LOC-REL lie-PRES down-RDP
 Wallaby game, which lives in a hole underground. [DHM]

- 4.2 *Ngaa warta mangarri-kurlu ngarlukutu-kurlu.*
 DEM tree plant.food-HAV insect.gall-HAV
 This tree has 'bush coconuts'. [CLTLS]

4.1.2 Nominal reduplication

Wangkajunga is like many Australian languages in having a very productive process of reduplication. Reduplication is defined by Spencer (1993:13) as a process;

in which some part of the base is repeated, either to the left, or to the right, or, occasionally, in the middle.

In this section I discuss the form and meaning of reduplication of both nouns and adjectives. Spencer (1993:13) notes the difference between reduplication and other morphological processes.

The interesting thing about reduplication is that it involves adding material, just like any other form of affixation, but the identity of the added material is partially or wholly determined by the base. Thus, we have a form of affixation which looks much more like some sort of process which is applied to the base rather than a simple concatenation of one morpheme with another.

In Wangkajunga words, the root is repeated to the right. Most examples of reduplication in Wangkajunga involve the repetition of the whole of the root, although there are some examples of partial reduplication.

4.1.2.1 Reduplication of nominals that exist as independent words

The following are examples of complete reduplication of independent nominals. The examples indicate that reduplicated words are found in many different semantic fields and in both the noun and adjective class.

<i>ngunju</i> ‘chin’	<i>ngunjungunju</i> ‘beard’
<i>nguli</i> ‘crawl’	<i>ngulinguli</i> ‘crawler’
<i>mara</i> ‘hand’	<i>maramara</i> ‘crawler’
<i>parntany</i> ‘woman’	<i>parntanyparntany</i> ‘women’
<i>kuyunpa</i> ‘girl’	<i>kuyunkuyunpa</i> ‘girls’
<i>wankarru</i> ‘spider’	<i>wankarruwankarru</i> ‘spiders’
<i>karru</i> ‘creek’	<i>karrukarru</i> ‘road’
<i>pilyurr</i> ‘spouse’	<i>pilyurrpilyurr</i> ‘steep slope’
<i>kawan</i> ‘forgetful’	<i>kawankawan</i> ‘deaf’, ‘mad’
<i>yilku</i> ‘blood’	<i>yilkuyilku</i> ‘red’
<i>munuka</i> ‘unknown’	<i>munukamunuka</i> ‘different’
<i>yalta</i> ‘cold’	<i>yaltayalta</i> ‘cool’
<i>maru</i> ‘black’	<i>marumaru</i> ‘black’
<i>juku</i> ‘small’	<i>jukujuku</i> ‘little’
<i>miku</i> ‘jealous’	<i>mikumiku</i> ‘covetous’
<i>maki</i> ‘happy’	<i>makimaki</i> ‘excited’
<i>jarlu</i> ‘big’	<i>jarlujarlu</i> ‘huge’
<i>kanin</i> ‘below’	<i>kaninkanin</i> ‘deep’
<i>parlti</i> ‘hot’	<i>parltiparlti</i> ‘very hot’

The semantic effect of most reduplicated nouns is the description of an entity similar to the original word but slightly different. This shown in the following examples *yilku* ‘blood’ > *yilkuyilku* ‘red’, *karru* ‘creek’ > *karrukarru* ‘road’ and *mara* ‘hand’ > *maramara* ‘crawler’.

A common use of reduplicated nouns is to describe a number or group of people. Two frequently used examples are *parntanyparntanypa* ‘a group of women’ and *kuyunkuyunpa* ‘lots of young girls’.

Goddard (1985) and Sharp (1998) describe the effect of reduplication of descriptive words as being one of attenuation. This could be the meaning in Wangkajunga pairs such as *kawan* ‘deaf, mad’ and *kawankawan* ‘forgetful’, *munuka* ‘unknown’ and *munukamunuka* ‘different’ and *yalta* ‘cold’ and *yaltayalta* ‘cool’.

However I have mostly interpreted reduplicated descriptive words in Wangkajunga as accentuating an attribute rather than attenuating it. This is the interpretation in the meaning of *mikumiku* ‘covetous’, *makimaki* ‘excited’, *jarlujarlu* ‘huge’, *kaninkanin* ‘deep’ and *parltiparlti* ‘very hot’.

This description of a child’s size confirmed this view.

- 4.3 *Tuju yilta jarlu. Juku-marta-ngulyu minarli. juku-minyirri baby-wan*
 girl really big small-MOD-CERT boy small-VERY baby(K)

jiji juku-juku bornbaby
 child small-RDP new.born(K)

The girl is quite big but the boy is certainly much smaller. He’s very small,
 just a baby. He’s a little newborn baby. [SWPN]

Examples where the original root has a very different meaning from the reduplicated form are rare. The following is a possible example.

- a. *pilyurr* ‘promised spouse’
 b. *pilyurrpilyurr* ‘slope (of a sandhill)’

4.1.2.2 Frozen reduplication

The base form of the following reduplicated nominals is not found as an independent word in the language. The nominals *karrkarr* ‘pain’, *jurnjurnpa* ‘brain’ and *kurnkurn* ‘black’ are reduplicated monosyllabic forms. Monosyllabic words are extremely rare in the language (§2.2). The following is a list of frozen fully reduplicated nominals.

<i>jurnjurnpa</i>	‘brain’
<i>kuljurlkuljurlpa</i>	‘oesophagus’
<i>munkumunku</i>	‘heart’
<i>ralyuralyu</i>	‘lungs’
<i>karrkarr</i>	‘pain’
<i>ramarama</i>	‘confused, muddled’
<i>parnparn</i>	‘area of warmth’
<i>punpalpunpal</i>	‘heat’
<i>kurnkurnpa</i>	‘black’
<i>tajitaji</i>	‘type of tree’
<i>parrkaparrka</i>	‘Desert Oak tree’
<i>junanjunanpa</i>	‘type of small lizard’
<i>jirntirrijirntirr</i>	‘Willy Wagtail’
<i>Mulumulu</i>	‘place name’
<i>Kilangkilang</i>	‘place name’

As is common in languages of the area examples of frozen partially reduplicated words are often found in the names of birds, animals and insects. The following is a list of examples of frozen partially reduplicated words in the language.

<i>kutparuparu</i>	‘magpie’
<i>ngatamunkumunku</i>	‘a type of pigeon’
<i>kurlukuku</i>	‘a type of pigeon’
<i>jartiminamina</i>	‘a type of bat’
<i>wirrpintipinti</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>munurrkunurrkurr</i>	‘wasp’
<i>punypuny</i>	‘marsupial mouse’

Frozen partially reduplicated nominals are sometimes also found in other semantic fields such as the following.

<i>jakurtakurta</i>	‘small berry’
---------------------	---------------

A small number of frozen reduplicated nominals are onomatopoeic. These are words for animals, birds or insects that, speakers say, mimic the call of the entity (§3.6). Some, such as *kurlukuku* and *tiiyatiiya* are found in many languages.

<i>wurtwurt</i>	‘Spotted Nightjar or Pheasant Coucal’
<i>kurlukuku</i>	‘a type of pigeon’
<i>ngakalyalya</i>	‘a type of cockatoo’
<i>tiiyatiiya</i>	‘Magpie Lark’, ‘Peewee’, ‘Mudlark’
<i>wurtuwurtu</i>	‘a type of wallaby that apparently calls out <i>wurtuwurtu</i> as it runs away in fright’

4.1.2.3 Reduplication as a template for new words

Reduplicated forms are also used to label introduced entities and activities. The following words are used by other traditional languages in the region and may have been introduced into Wangkajunga via Kriol or another traditional language. The etymology of these words is not always clear. The word *japu* is used for ‘ball’ in Warlpiri (Warlpiri dictionary n.d.). The word *mirlimirli* is widespread and could have come from the English word ‘mail’ or from a traditional Australian language word for paperbark (Richards and Hudson 1990:154).

<i>jawajawa</i>	‘horse’
<i>japujapu</i>	‘football’
<i>wirliwirli</i>	‘fishing line’
<i>karrukarru</i>	‘road’ (see §4.1.2.1)
<i>mirlimirli</i>	‘paper’

Reduplication is a common strategy in Kriol, the new language of the region (§1.5). The following reduplicated words are also examples that have been introduced from Kriol. The base in these examples was originally an English word.

<i>jupjup</i>	‘stew’
<i>taltal</i>	‘doll’
<i>pikipiki</i>	‘pig’
<i>kapikapi</i>	‘calf’
<i>jukjuk</i>	‘chook’
<i>talingtaling</i>	‘lover’

4.1.3 Compound nominals

Nominal roots can be composed of two different words that together form another single word with a new meaning. The separate words may be nominals or a nominal and verb. Compound nominals are more common as the words for animals and plants, but sometimes occur as the words for items not traditionally part of the Wangkajunga culture.

Compound nominals can be composed of two words that have independent meanings or of one word that has independent meaning and another that does not. Many of the compound nominals now part of Wangkajunga vocabulary had independent meaning in neighbouring languages, for example, the compound *mangkawala* is a word for ‘hat’ in Wangkajunga. This word is composed of *mangka* that is a Wangkajunga word for ‘hair’ and *wala* that is a word for egg in Wajarri, a southwestern neighbour of the Western Desert languages. All the recorded examples are semantically exocentric; that is the meaning of the compound nominal is not the same as one of its single words. The first four examples in the following list are made up of two nouns. The head noun is first and its modifier follows. The fifth example *ngawu-taka* is a noun-noun compound composed of a modifier followed by its head. This compound has a Kriol word *taka* ‘food’ as its head. This may be the reason for the reversed order in this example. It follows Kriol, and English, order of a modifier followed by its head. The two final examples are noun-verb compounds with object -verb structure. The verb *pungu* ‘hit’ has the same form as the past tense and the verb *ngalku*¹ ‘eat’ has the same form as the future tense of the verb.

¹ The *ngalku* form of the verb *ngala* ‘eat’ can act as a stem for other verbal inflections (§8.2.2)

Noun-noun compounds

<i>kata-puta</i>	‘Mountain Devil’
head-rotten	
<i>murti-tikil</i>	‘camel’
knee-dry	
<i>mulya-maru</i>	‘Black-headed Python’
nose-black	
<i>kumpu-paja</i>	‘bush tomato’
urine-much(WAL)	
<i>ngawu-taka</i>	‘small plum-like fruit’
type.of.bird-food(K)	

Noun-verb compounds

<i>kurntu-pungu</i>	‘Bloodwood tree’
penis-hit	
<i>wanka-ngalku</i>	‘eagle’
live-eat	

4.2 Derivational affixes

Wangkajunga has a number of suffixes that are optionally added to the nominal root to produce nominal stems. Case inflections are then added to the nominal stem. I list the derivational nominal suffixes below and follow with a short description and examples of each suffix. Some of these derivational affixes can function as case markers. This is discussed in §4.6.

1. Having/lacking a thing or property

<i>-kurlu</i>	HAV	having
<i>-pinti</i>	THING	associated thing
<i>-parni</i>	PRIV	privative
<i>-kija</i>	INT	intensive
<i>-jiraja</i>	WANT	want

2. Associated time and space

<i>-jarra</i>	ASST	associated time
<i>-puru</i>	TEMP	temporal
<i>-karraja</i>	DWELL	dweller
<i>-karti</i>	SIDE	side

3. Comparison of properties

<i>-partu</i>	TYPE	type
<i>-yuru</i>	SIM	similar
<i>-munu</i>	CONTR	contradictive
<i>-kujupa</i>	ANOTH	another

<i>-wiyaju</i>	ONLY	only
<i>-marta</i>	MOD	moderative
<i>-paka</i>	BIG	very big
<i>-minyirri</i>	VERY	very
<i>-nguninji</i>	SPEC	specifier

4. Number

<i>-marlu</i>	NUM	numeration
<i>-kujarra</i>	DUAL	dual
<i>-paraku</i>	FEW	few
<i>-rti, -n</i>	PL	plural
number of human entities		
<i>-ngurun</i>	GRP	group
number of kin		
<i>-rarra</i>	PAIR	related kin

4.2.1 Having /lacking thing or property

4.2.1.1 *-kurlu* (HAV) ‘having’

The suffix *-kurlu* is very productive in the language and has a number of semantic functions. The overriding sense of all of the functions is accompaniment. The accompaniment can be between an inanimate entity and an animate entity as in the roles of possessed and possessor, or between two animate entities. The entity suffixed by *-kurlu* also has the role of instrument.

Possession

The suffix *-kurlu* functions as one of the means for marking possession in Wangkajunga. The other ways that Wangkajunga marks possession are discussed in §4.5.7. In the use of *-kurlu* to mark possession the entity that is possessed rather than the possessor is marked. In examples 4.4 to 4.6 respectively the entities *piti* ‘coolamons’, *miti* ‘cooked meat’ and *mimi* ‘sickness’ are marked with *-kurlu* to indicate that they are in the possession of the subject of the sentence.

- 4.4 *Ya-nu-pula piti-kurlu kujarra.*
 go-PST-3dIS coolamon-HAV two
 The two with coolamons went. [SWPM]

- 4.5 *Ngula-ya miti-kurlu warinkati-ngu ruka-ruka.*
 later-3plS cooked-HAV come-PST afternoon-RDP
 Later in the afternoon the ones with the cooked meat would arrive. [DHN]

- 4.6 *Mimi-kurlu-rna*
 sick-HAV-1sgS
 I’m sick. [NBK1]

Accompaniment

In example 4.7 and 4.8 the human entities *jiji* ‘child’ in both examples, are in the role of agents who are moving in the company of the non-human animate entities *wirta* ‘dog’ in 4.5, and *yawurta* ‘horse’ in 4.6.

- 4.7 *Jiji wirta-kurlu wirrjan-ma.*
 child dog-HAV run-PSTIMP
 The child was running with the dog. [NBK3]
- 4.8 *Jiji juku-juku kujarra yan-in-pa-pula yawurta-kurlu.*
 child small-RDP two go-PRES-PA-3dIS horse-HAV
 Two little kids are going along on a horse. [NBK2]

Having a characteristic

The suffix *-kurlu* is also used to mark a characteristic of an entity. In examples 4.9 and 4.10 the entities have the characteristics of being Dreamtime beings in 4.9 and trees with flowers in 4.10.

- 4.9 *Yana-ma-ya waringarri-kurlu.*
 go-PSTHB Dreamtime-HAV
 The Dreamtime ones used to go. [PNTGSM]
- 4.10 *Ngaa-ya-lta-pa partiri-kurlu warta*
 DEM-3plS-then-PA flowers-HAV tree.
 Then these might be the trees with flowers. [SWPN]

Instrument

The suffix *-kurlu* marks the instrument used to carry out an activity. Example 4.11 has an intransitive verb *yanu* ‘went’. The subject argument of this event is *yirna pampa* ‘blind man’ who uses a stick to walk. The stick *warta* has the *-kurlu* suffix. The Agent arguments of transitive verbs are marked with the Ergative case (§4.3). The instrument used by an Agent is also marked with the Ergative *-lu*. Example 4.12 is the description of a photograph of a man drinking water from a hat. The verb *jikin* ‘drinking’ has an Ergative subject. The hat *mangkawala* has the suffix *-kurlu* and then the Ergative *-lu* indicating the hat as the instrument used by the subject *puntu* ‘man’.

- 4.11 *Yirna pampa warta-kurlu ya-nu.*
 old man blind stick-HAV go-PST
 The blind man walked with a stick. [NBK3:204]
- 4.12 *Puntu-lu mangkawala-kurlu-lu kalyu jikin-in.*
 man-ERG hat-HAV-ERG water drink-PRES
 The man is drinking water with his hat. [NBK2]

The material used in a production activity such as *purltu-puwa* ‘threading’ can also be marked as an instrument. In example 4.13 the stick used to skewer bush fruits is from a *taji-taji* tree. The hesitation *ngapi-kurlu-lu* ‘with what’ as well as *taji-taji-kurlu-lu* both receive the instrument marking in this example.

- 4.13 *Purltu-pu-wa-ya ngapi-kurlu-lu tajitaji-kurlu-lu.*
 thread-hit-NARPST-3plS what-HAV-ERG tree.type-HAV-ERG
 They would skewer it with um, a, stick from a *taji-taji* tree. [DHM]

4.2.1.2 *-pinti* (THING) ‘associated thing’

The associated thing suffix describes the purpose of the nominal to which it is attached. In 4.14 a *kalyu-pinti* is a large wooden bowl used to carry water.

- 4.14 *Puntu-lu jinkan-in piti kalyu-pinti*
 man-ERG chisel-PRES wooden.dish water-THING
 The man is carving a water-carrying dish. [NBK3:59]

This suffix is extremely common in the modern language. It is attached to nominal roots and nominalised verbs (§11.1.3.1) in the creation of complex nominal stems to label implements. New labels are often required firstly, to replace labels that have gone out of use for reasons of taboo and secondly, to label implements that are introduced to the culture. Some examples of these new words follow.

- yunka-nja-pinti* ‘grinding stone’
 hit.with.an.object-NOMZ-THING
waka-nja-pinti ‘pencil’
 spear-NOMZ-THING
jina-pinti ‘shoe’
 foot-THING
nyina-nja-pinti ‘chair’
 sit-NOMZ-THING
manku-nja-pinti ‘take away shop’
 get-NOMZ-THING

4.2.1.3 *-parni* (PRIV) privative

The *-parni* suffix describes the absence of the entity to which the suffix is attached. A number of the examples in the texts are similar to example 4.17. The derived nominal with the derivational suffix *-parni* has the locative suffix *-ngka* indicating a location for the *-parni* derived nominal. In example 4.17 the object is in a situation of lacking a fire.

- 4.15 *Ka-laju road-parni wana-rnu.*
 CONJ-1plexS road-PRIV follow-PST
 And we followed where there was no road. [KNG]
 4.16 *Wiya money money-parni kuwarri-marta warinkati-ngu mani.*
 NEG money money-PRIV now-MOD arrive-PST money
 Not money, there was no money. Money arrived much later. [FLBD]
 4.17 *Waru-parni-ngka-rni ju-nu ya-nu.*
 fire-PRIV-LOC-1sgO put-PST go-PST
 She left me without a fire. [BRNS]

4.2.1.4 *-kija* (INT) intensive

The *-kija* intensive suffix describes the intention of the subject for carrying out the action. In example 4.18 the *-kija* derived nominal has Ergative case in agreement with the Ergative marked subject and in example 4.19 the *-kija* derived nominal has Absolutive case in agreement with the subject of the verb *yanin* ‘going’.

- 4.18 *An wirta-lu ya-nu kalyu-kija-lu palipu-ngu.*
 CONJ dog-ERG go-PST water-INT-ERG find-PST
 The dog went for water and found it. [PNTGS and NBK3:157]

- 4.19 *Marnti yan-in-pa cool-drinku-kija.*²
 boy go-PST-PA cool.drink-INT
 The boy is going because he wants a cool drink. [NBK3]

4.2.1.5 *-jiraja* (WANT) ‘want’

I have elicited a small number of examples with the suffix *-jiraja* added to an entity nominal. There are no examples of the suffix in the texts. The suffix indicates an absence of the entity to which it is attached. The few elicited examples describe a state of affairs where the absence of the entity causes anger or sulkiness.

Marsh (1992) labels this suffix ‘privative’ in Manyjilyjarra and Kartujarra. The same suffix is found in Ngaanyatjarra (Glass and Hackett 1970), Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985) and Pitjantjatjara (Bowe 1990). The consultant responded to my prepared Wangkajunga example, shown as 4.21 with corrected examples using verbs of anger and sulking. It is possible that this suffix is not used in Wangkajunga. As the consultant is multilingual she could have been responding to my need for an example for the *-jiraja* suffix although it is not a suffix she would normally use.

In example 4.20 a lack of money is causing the action of the verb *yurntirirringu* ‘sulked’.

- 4.20 *Karen-pa yurntiri-rri-ngu money-jiraja.*
 name-PA sulky-INCH-PST money-WANT
 Karen sulked because she wants money. [NBK3:99]
- 4.21 **Tuju yan-in-pa lungkurta-jiraja.*
 woman go-PRES-PA blue.tongue.lizard-WANT
 *The woman is going because she wants a blue-tongue lizard. [NBK3:99]

4.2.2 Associated time and space

4.2.2.1 *-jarra* (ASST) ‘associated time or space’

The *-jarra* suffix is limited to a small group of temporal or spatial nominals. This suffix adds the meaning ‘associated with or pertaining to time or space’. The most frequently used *-jarra* derived nominals are listed below. Two other examples of nominals derived by this suffix appear in the texts. These are *yurrilyjarra* and *yalinyjarra*. Both have very specific use in the traditional desert lifestyle. The word *yurrily* is a nominal denoting a container of water left behind for drinking on a return journey. The derived nominal

² The English word ‘drink’ has a final high vowel in accordance with the languages’ constraints on final consonants. This is discussed in §2.2.4.3.

yurrilyjarra refers to the time of drinking on the return journey. The word *yaliny* denotes ‘shoulder’. The use of the derived nominal *yalinyjarra* refers to a place on the body where game is carried after hunting.³

The *-jarra* suffix in Wangkajunga has the same form as the HAVING suffix in a number of Western Desert languages (§4.8.2), but does not have a proprietive function in this language. Example 4.22 supports this assumption by illustrating the use of both the *-jarra* and *-kurlu* suffixes by the same speaker.

munga-jarra ‘night-time’
dark-ASST

yunguny-jarra ‘morning’
morning-ASST

ruka-jarra ‘afternoon’
afternoon-ASST

kanin-jarra ‘inside’
down-ASST

wituka-jarra ‘the next time’
again-ASST

wulu-jarra ‘for a considerable time’, ‘continuously’,
always-ASST

- 4.22 *Pina-ya ya-rra yurrily-jarra kalyu-kurlu an*
far-3plS go-NARPST container.of.water-ASST water-HAV CONJ
ngula-ya miti-kurlu warinkati ruka-ruka ruka-jarra.
later-3plS cooked.meat-HAV arrive sundown-RDP afternoon-ASST
The ones with water for the return journey would go a long way, and later, they
would arrive in the late afternoon with the cooked meat. [DHN]

- 4.23 *Nyina-ngu-rna wulu-jarra Mulumulu.*
stay-PST-1sgS always-ASST place.name
I stayed at Moolabulla for ages. [DHN]

4.2.2.2 *-puru* (TEMP) ‘temporal’

The *-puru* suffix adds a time association to a nominal. Words for seasons in Wangkajunga are formed with the *-puru* suffix. These are not a closed set of terms but potentially creative according to the characteristics of the particular season. Some examples of seasonal terms are listed below:

kalyu-puru ‘rainy season’
water-TEMP

yali-puru ‘hot season’
hot-TEMP

³ A traditional method of carrying larger animals was to skewer them on a spear or stick and then carry them across the shoulders.

yalta-puru 'cold season'
cold-TEMP

yukiri-puru 'season of new green grass'
green.grass.shoots-TEMP

The *-puru* suffix can precede a grammatical case as in 4.24, follow a local semantic case as in example 4.23 or be followed by a semantic case as in example 4.26. (§6.1) Each of these examples is from the same speaker.

4.24 *Ngaa-nga-janampa yali-puru-ku wilja.*
DEM-FOC-3plDAT hot-TEMP-DAT shelter
This thing is their hot weather shelter. [SWPY]

4.25 *Nyina-ti-n kurruny-ja-puru malakarti.*
sit -ACT-PRES sleep-LOC-TEMP behind
He sits down there at bedtime. (lit. the in/at sleep time) [SWPN]

4.26 *An yalta-puru-janu kuka*
CONJ cold-TEMP-ABL meat
And meat from the cold weather. [BRNS]

4.2.2.3 *-karraja* (DWELL) 'dweller'

The *-karraja* or dweller suffix indicates that the entity denoted by the derived nominal is an inhabitant of the place denoted by the nominal root. In most cases the derived nominal denotes the territorial origin of the referent. The *-karraja* suffix is mostly suffixed to nominals describing physical features of the environment and elements.

The suffix is used in the creation of new words to denote animals and plants not traditionally found in Wangkajunga territory; for example, the word for fish, water goannas, water snakes and water birds is *kalyu* 'water' plus the dweller suffix.

kalyu-karraja 'fish', 'water goanna', 'water snake', 'water bird'
water-DWELL

nyunma-karraja 'the ones from the burnt area'
burnt.ground-DWELL

tali-karraja 'the ones from the sandhills'
sandhill-DWELL

4.27 *Warrangkarli mayi yanga tali-karraja.*
bush.fruit plant.food DEM sandhill-DWELL
Warrangkarli is the fruit that grows in the sandhills. [SWPMi]

4.28 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju pu-ngku-la ngalkun-ma lizard-pa yangka kuka*
1-PL-PA-1plexS hit-IRR-SER eat-PSTIMP lizard-PA DEM meat
nyunma-karraja.
burnt.ground-DWELL
We were killing and eating small lizards, those lizards that live in the burnt area around the camp. [DHN]

4.2.2.4 *-karti*(SIDE) ‘side’

This suffix is limited to a few examples noted in a conversation about body parts. In all the examples the suffix is added to a body part nominal and the resulting derived nominal remains a referent to the body. The words for ‘left’ and ‘right’ sides of the body, below, are derived nominals formed with *-karti* (see also §4.7.1.3). The suffix is also added to cardinal points (§4.7.1.2).

junga-karti ‘right’
straight-SIDE

jampu-karti ‘left’
weak-SIDE

- 4.29 *Wanti-ti-n-pa jiji kuju-karti.*
jump-ACT-PRES-PA child one-SIDE
The child is hopping on one leg [NBK2:236]

4.2.3 Comparison of properties

4.2.3.1 *-partu* (TYPE) ‘type’

There are a small number of examples of the suffix *-partu* in the texts. In the examples *-partu* is suffixed to the question nominal *ngana* or to generic nominals. The suffix adds the meaning ‘type of’ to the nominal to which it is attached. The speaker used it in a narrative to recall which animals had been killed while hunting. In each use of the derived nominal in a narrative the speaker repeated it twice. This is illustrated in examples 4.30 and 4.31.

- 4.30 *Laltu-janampa-pula kuka pu-ngu Minyawu kamu miyawu ngapi*
plenty-3plDAT-3dIS meat hit-PST cat CONJ cat HES
parnaparnti Ngana-partu? Ngana-partu kuka? Jalapa jantu-lurrju
goanna INDEF-TYPE INDEF-TYPE meat goanna dingo-as well
Those two killed a lot of game for them. Cat and, cat, um, goanna. What other
sorts of game? Goanna, and a dingo as well. [SWPM1]

- 4.31 *Kuka-partu kuka-partu-lanyaju-ya jarlu laltu yirrayiyunga-ma,*
meat-TYPE meat-TYPE-3plO-3plS big many hunt.with.dog-PSTIMP
nyukurni-nguninji.
before-FOC
In the old days, they would hunt all types of large game with dogs [BRNS]

4.2.3.2 *-yuru* (SIM) ‘similar’

The suffix *-yuru* is added to an entity nominal to mean that the referent is something similar to the referent of the nominal stem. In example 4.33 the derivational suffix is followed by the clitic indicating certainty *-ngulyu*.

- 4.32 *Ma-nu wirrupu-ngu yampaly-yuru ngaa-yuru.*
get-PST throw-PST flour-SIM DEM-SIM
She got stuff the same as this flour and sprinkled it. [DHN]

- 4.33 *Punpalpunpal-janu-laju ngayu-n-rtuka ngarri-ngu*
 heat-ABL-1plexS 1sg-PL-EMPH lie-PST
mangkaja-yuru-ngulyu wilja-ngka.
 shelter-SIM-CERT shade-LOC
 Absolutely, we would lie in the shade, in a shelter just like that because of the
 extreme heat. [SWPY]

4.2.3.3 **-munu (CONTR) contradictory**

The suffix *-munu* contradicts an understood assertion made about the denotation of the nominal to which it attaches. All recorded examples are suffixed to nominals.

- 4.34 *Ngaa-n-pa-janampa ngarrirrawanan-in-pa warta, warta-munu*
 DEM-PL-PA-3plDAT lined.up-PRES-PA bushes bushes-CONTR
mayi-janampa
 fruits-3plDAT
 These are their bushes lined up. Not bushes, their fruits. [SWPMi]
- 4.35 *Kumpupaja-munu nganayi minyili mirrka*
 bush.tomato-CONTR HES minyili fruit
 It's not bush tomato, it's um, *minyili* fruit. [SWPMi]

4.2.3.4 **-marta (MOD) moderative**

I have recorded very few examples of this suffix. All the recorded examples are suffixed to attributive nominals and have the meaning of English 'much', 'quite' or 'rather'. In example 4.36 the suffix appears to have the comparative meaning suggested in the translation.

- 4.36 *Jarlu-kujarra-pula tuju kamu jarlu-marta kujarra tuju.*
 big-DUAL-2dIS woman CONJ big-MOD two woman
Yilta jarlu.
 really big
 These are two big girls and two much bigger girls. Really big. [SWPN]
- 4.37 *Juku-marta-ngulyu minarli juku-minyirri babywan.*
 small-MOD-CERT boy small-VERY baby(K)
 It's quite a small boy, very small really, a baby. [SWPY]

4.2.3.5 **-paka (BIG) 'very big'**

A similar suffix to *-marta* above is the moderative suffix *-paka* which is added to the attributive nominal *jarlu* 'large'. There are very few examples and each of them is with the nominal *jarlu*. The addition of *-paka* to *jarlu* increases the size of the entity being described. Examples with attributive nominals meaning small were rejected. The suffix appears similar to Kriol *-baga* from English 'bugger', although the consultant says it is a Wangkajunga suffix.

- 4.38 *Ngaa-nga kuka miyawu, ngalyangamuka. Ngaa jarlu-paka.*
 DEM-FOC meat cat, cat DEM big-BIG
 This meat is cat, '*ngalyangamuka*'. This is very large. [SWPMi]

4.2.3.6 *-kujupa* (ANOTH) ‘another’

The recorded examples of this suffix indicate that it can precede a semantic case as in example 4.39 or follow a semantic case as in example 4.40. Both the examples are from the same speaker. The suffix indicates that there is another of the entities denoted by the nominal. This suffix could be derived from *kuju* ‘one’ plus the epenthetic *-pa*.

- 4.39 *Kalyu-kujupa-ngka-laju jila-ngka nyina-ma,*
water-ANOTH-LOC-1plexS waterhole-LOC stay-PSTIMP
We would be staying in another waterhole. [DHN]

- 4.40 *Ya-nu-liju kutu-wana-kujupa.*
go-PST-1dIS centre-PERL-ANOTH
The two of us went across the centre of another one [sandhill]. [DHN]

4.2.3.7 *-minyirri* (VERY) ‘very’

The intensifier *minyirri* is typically suffixed to attributive nominals to enhance or lessen the attribute. The use of this form as a suffix is illustrated by examples 4.41 and 4.42. One example, 4.43, from a text given by a different speaker has the intensifier following the locative case. For this speaker the intensifier appears as an independent word.

- 4.41 *Ngara-ma jarlu-paka, jarlu-minyirri.*
stand-PSTIMP big-BIG big-VERY
A big [one], a really big [one] was standing [there]. [KNG]

- 4.42 *Parnaparnti kartal-ja jarlu-minyirri-ngka jarrpa-ngu.*
goanna hole-LOC big-very-LOC enter-PST
The goanna went into a really big hole. [NBK3:35]

- 4.43 *Ma-nu-pula takurlju-nu piti-ngka jarlu-ngka minyirri.*
get-PST-3dIS put.into-PST wooden.dish-LOC large-LOC very
The parents got it and put it into a very big carrying dish. [SWPM]

4.2.3.8 *-nguninji* (FOC) ‘focus’

The examples of this suffix in texts indicate different uses by different speakers. In example 4.44 the suffix follows the case marker and therefore could be classed as a post-inflectional particle. In §12.1.4.10 I discuss this suffix as a marker of pragmatic function. In example 4.45 another speaker uses the same suffix as a derivation placing it before the inflection for case.

Nominals with the *-nguninji* suffix are specified as carrying out the action of the verb in a particular way.

- 4.44 *waka-rnun-pa-janampa ninti-lu-nguninji.*
cut-PST-PA-3plDAT know-ERG-FOC
it’s the ones who have learnt that cut it. [FLBD]

- 4.45 *parntany-nguninji-lu jawa-nin-pa piti-ngka jalapa-ku kujarra-ngka.*
woman-FOC-ERG dig-PRES-PA hole-LOC lizard-DAT two-LOC
it’s the woman who is digging in the two holes for a lizard. [SWPM]

4.2.4 Number and groups

4.2.4.1 *-marlu* (NUM) numerative

The few recorded examples of this suffix are added to the interrogative nominal *ngana* to ask ‘How many?’ See also §12.2 on interrogatives.

- 4.46 *Ngana-marlu-ya nyin-in-pa?*
 INDEF-NUM-3plS stay-PRES-PA
 How many are there? [NBK3:94]

4.2.4.2 *-kujarra* (DUAL) dual

This suffix indicates that there are two of the referents to which it is attached. It is a widespread form for ‘two’ in the languages of the Western Desert as well as non-Western Desert languages. There are recorded examples of its use in Wangkajunga as an independent word as well as a derivational suffix. Example 4.30 above, and others throughout the grammar, shows that the dual suffix is not compulsory when there are two referents. In 4.47 the cross-referencing third person dual pronoun *-pula* also indicates the number of referents involved in the action.

- 4.47 *Ngaa-kujarra-lu-jananya-pula na nyupa-rarra-lu ju-nu ya-nu.*
 DEM-DUAL-ERG-3plO-3dlS FOC spouse-PAIR-ERG put-PST go-PST
 These two, the parents, left them. [SWPN]
- 4.48 *Kujarra kumpinyi, jarlu-kujarra-pula tuju kamu jarlu-marta kujarra.*
 two boy big-DUAL-3dlS woman CONJ big-MOD two
 Two boys, two big boys and a girl much bigger than the two. [SWPN]

4.2.4.3 *-paraku* (FEW) ‘few’

The suffix *-paraku* on common nominals indicates that the number of referents involved in the action is more than two but not many. Like the dual suffix above and the plural below the paucal suffix *-paraku* is not a compulsory suffix and not the primary means of indicating the number of referents involved in an event. In example 4.49 the referents are crossreferenced by the third person bound pronoun *-ya* indicating that there are more than two. In this example the independent word *yupalypa* ‘few’ also indicates the number of referents.

- 4.49 *Warrmala-ya ngaa-paraku puntu-paraku yupalypa*
 strangers-3plS DEM-FEW man-FEW few-PA
 They were these few strange men. [DHN]

4.2.4.4 *-n, -rti* (PL) plural

The suffixes *-n* on independent pronouns and demonstratives (§5.1 and §5.2) and *-rti* on common nominals indicate that the number of referents involved in the action is more than two. Like the dual suffix *-kujarra*, and the paucal suffix *-paraku*, the plural suffixes are not compulsory on common nominals in Wangkajunga. Plural suffixes are compulsory on independent pronouns and demonstratives. Example 4.33, and others throughout the grammar, illustrates the plural suffix *-n* on the independent first person pronoun. In example 4.50 the entity *puntu* ‘man’ is suffixed with the plural *-rti* and is crossreferenced by the third person plural suffix *-ya*. (The cross-referencing bound pronouns are discussed in §6.2.) In

example 4.51 the nominal *jiji* ‘child’ is not suffixed by the plural *-rti*, although the number of children is more than two. The nominal *jiji* is crossreferenced by the compulsory third person plural bound pronoun *-ya* which indicates more than two referents.

- 4.50 *Puntu-rti-ya mirrka-kutu ya-nin-pa.*
 man-pl-3plS food-ALL go-PRES-PA
 The men are going for food. [NBK2]
- 4.51 *Jiji-ra-ya ngarrurta wama-ku.*
 child-3sgDAT-3plS happy nectar-DAT
 The children are happy about the nectar. [NBK2]

4.2.5 Suffixes added to human entities

4.2.5.1 *-ngurun*(PA) (GRP) group

This suffix is added to common nouns to denote a group of people with a particular relationship to the referent. All recorded examples are suffixed to proper names although the relationship is not necessarily one of kin. They may be a group that have travelled together in the same car or camped at the same fire.

- 4.52 *Kurrapa-ngurun-pa-laju ya-nu.*
 name-GRP-PA-1plexS go-PST
 Kurrapa’s mob went. [KNG]
- 4.53 *Realla-ngurun-pa Barbara-ngurun-pa*
 name-GRP-PA name-GRP-PA
 Realla’s mob, Barbara’s mob. [NBK2]

4.2.6 Suffixes added to kin terms

4.2.6.1 *-rarra* (PAIR) Kinship Dyad

The suffix is added to a singular relationship term and denotes two people in a particular relationship to each other. In some circumstances the term is extended to use with animals.

- 4.54 *Nyupa-rarra-lu-jananya-pula kanyin-in yaparli laltu*
 spouse-PAIR-ERG-3plO-2dIS have-PRES grandchild many.
 This couple have lots of grandchildren. [SWPN]

Reciprocal relationship terms followed by *-rarra*:

<i>nyupa-rarra</i> spouse-PAIR	‘husband and wife’
<i>yaparli-rra</i> grandmother/child-PAIR	‘grandmother and grandchild’
<i>jamu-rarra</i> grandfather/child-PAIR	‘grandfather and grandchild’
<i>jurtu-rarra</i> elder.sister-PAIR	‘two sisters’

kurta-rarra 'two brothers'
elder.brother-PAIR

Non-reciprocal relationship terms followed by *-rarra*:

yipi-rarra 'mother and daughter', 'mother and son'
mother-PAIR

mama-rarra 'father and daughter', 'father and son'
father-PAIR

kaja-rarra 'father and son'
son-PAIR

If the relationship terms are not reciprocal it appears that either term may be used. My consultant favoured the use of the term that generally demands more respect; that is she used the term for mother for a mother and daughter pair rather than the term for daughter. However, she also suggested the term for father and son using the term for son. She then corrected this to the word using the father term. In some cases a classificatory 'son' may command more respect than a 'father'. It may be that the choice of terms in non-reciprocal relationships depends on the context of their use.

4.3 Case inflections

Wangkajunga is similar to other Australian languages of the Pama-Nyungan family in that the syntactic functions of nominal arguments are indicated by a detailed system of case marking which relates arguments to predicates or to other arguments (Blake 1977, 1987, 1994). In this and the following two sections I discuss the case marking on Wangkajunga nominals. I have divided this case marking into grammatical cases and semantic cases although Wangkajunga case markers, like Warlpiri case markers (Simpson 1991), do not fit neatly into the two divisions. I give an example of a grammatical case functioning as a predicator in Wangkajunga in §4.4. and a semantic case indicating a grammatical relation in §4.5. At the end of this section I also discuss the use of some derivational suffixes as case markers.

Predicates such as verbs and nominals in Wangkajunga describe situations and events that happen in the world. Arguments represent the participants in those situations. The type of situation dictates the various ways that arguments will participate, that is, the roles they take in the event. Example 4.55 describes an event *watijunu* 'tracking' which requires an argument in the role of tracker and another argument in the role of the thing being tracked. In this example *tuju* 'woman' has the role of tracker and *mingajurru* 'bandicoot' has the role of the thing being tracked. The roles specified for arguments by their predicates in this way are termed semantic roles.

- 4.55 *Watiju-nu mingajurru tuju-lu*
track-PST bandicoot woman-ERG
A woman tracked a bandicoot. [SWPM]

Nominal arguments marked with grammatical case inflections can have a number of semantic roles depending on the main predicate. Non-grammatical or semantic cases have semantic roles that are dependent on the meaning of the semantic case rather than the main predicate. A semantic case can also assign more than one semantic role although they are generally more clearly aligned with a single semantic role than are grammatical cases.

Semantic cases, unlike grammatical cases, can be followed by another case marker. The functions of double case marking are discussed in §6.1. The grammatical and semantic cases in Wangkajunga are listed below.

Grammatical cases	ergative	- <i>lu</i> , - <i>tu</i> , - <i>ju</i>
	absolutive	- \emptyset
	dative	- <i>ku</i>
Semantic cases	locative	- <i>ngka</i> , - <i>ta</i> , - <i>ja</i>
	perlative	- <i>wana</i>
	allative	- <i>kutu</i> , - <i>kurra</i>
	ablative/causal	- <i>nguru</i> , - <i>janu</i>
	avoidance	- <i>ngkamarra</i> , - <i>jamarra</i>
	genitive	- <i>kurnu</i> , - <i>kura</i> , - <i>kurlangu</i>

4.4 The grammatical cases

The major syntactic functions of transitive subject, intransitive subject and direct object are marked according to an Ergative–Absolutive system. (I argue for the existence of the grammatical relations ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in Wangkajunga in §10.5.) In example 4.56 *tuju*- \emptyset ‘woman’ is the only argument of the intransitive verb *ya-nu* ‘go’ and it has zero marking. In example 4.57, the verb *pajarnu* ‘bite’ has two arguments, a zero marked argument *tuju* ‘woman’ and an Ergative marked argument *parnapanrti-lu* ‘goanna’. The subject argument of the intransitive verb has the same marking as the object of the transitive verb. The subject of the transitive verb has different marking, the Ergative -*lu*.

4.56 *Tuju*- \emptyset *ya-nu*.
 woman-ABS go-PST
 The woman went. [NBK2]

4.57 *Parnaparnti-lu tuju*- \emptyset *paja-rnu*
 goanna-ERG woman-ABS bite-PST
 The goanna bit the woman. [NBK3:53]

In simple clauses the grammatical cases are marked on nouns and free pronouns according to this Ergative and Absolutive system. The subject of a transitive clause (A) is marked differently from the subject of an intransitive clause (S) and the object of a transitive clause (O). S and O receive the same marking. In this grammar the term Ergative case (ERG) is used to refer to the case suffixing of the subject of a transitive clause and the Absolutive case (ABS) is used to refer to the suffixing of the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause. In Wangkajunga Ergative case is marked by -*lu*, -*tu* and -*ju* and Absolutive case by zero. This is illustrated in Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Wangkajunga grammatical case marking

	Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns and Demonstratives
ERG	- <i>lu</i> , - <i>ju</i> , - <i>tu</i>
ABS	\emptyset
DAT	- <i>ku</i>

4.4.1 The Ergative case

The Ergative case in Wangkajunga is marked by:

- lu* after a vowel
- ju* after a consonant
- tu* after a consonant

The -*lu* allomorph is by far the most common. The -*ju* allomorph occurs after final consonants in native Wangkajunga words and alternates with -*tu* after the final consonants of introduced words and following plural nominalised verbs (§2.4). There are no other examples of the -*tu* allomorph following Wangkajunga words. The following examples illustrate the three allomorphs.

- 4.58 *Puntu-lu wirta-ø pu-ngu.*
man-ERG dog-ABS hit-PST
The man hit the dog. [NBK2]
- 4.59 *Maparn-ju-rni wankan-in.*
doctor-ERG-1sgO alive-PRES
The doctor is treating me. [FAX]
- 4.60 *Karen-tu-rni kati-ngu hospital-kutu.*
Karen-ERG-1sgO take-PST hospital-ALL
Karen took me to hospital. [FAX1]
- 4.61 *Tikil-pa-nyu-ø mississ-ju pawu-rnu.*
dry-PA-REP-ABS European woman-ERG cook-PST.
The white woman cooked a dry one [cake], they reckon. [NBK2]

Unlike the southern languages of the Western Desert (Glass and Hackett 1970; Bowe 1990; Goddard 1985; Hansen 1978) Wangkajunga does not have different case marking for proper nouns and independent pronouns (§5.1.1) Wangkajunga names for people and languages typically end in a vowel and take the -*lu* suffix. In examples 4.62 and 4.63 the proper name *Yijayi-lu*, the subsection name *Nyapurru-lu* and the language names *Walmajarri-lu* and *Wangkajunga-lu* all have Ergative case marked by -*lu*. In example 4.60 the first person singular independent pronoun *ngayu-lu* also has Ergative case.

- 4.62 *Yijayi-lu Nyapurru-lu ngayu-lu-rna ya-nu-laju*
name-ERG subsection.name-ERG 1sg-ERG-1sgS go-PST-1plexS
parru-ma-nu waru-ø.
around-get-PST firewood-ABS
Yijayi, Nyapurru and I went all around to collect firewood. [NBK2]
- 4.63 *‘Warrangkarli’ wajan-in Walmajarri-lu, ‘minyili’-laju*
bush fruit say-PRES language.name-ERG bush fruit-1plexS
wajan-in-pa Wangkajunga-lu.
say-PRES-PA language.name-ERG
Walmajarri say ‘warrangkarli’ and Wangkajunga say ‘minyili’. [SWPMi]

As discussed at the beginning of the section the major function of the Ergative case in Wangkajunga is to indicate the subject grammatical relation between a single argument and a two-argument predicate. The Ergative marked subject argument can have the

semantic role of the agent of an event or activity, the experiencer of an activity, or the force of an activity.

4.4.1.1 The Agent of an activity

In examples 4.58 to 4.61 the Ergative marked subjects are all in the semantic role of agent. This is the typical role of transitive subjects. They perform an action that has some physical or visible effect. Ergative marked arguments therefore typically denote animate referents. Examples 4.58 to 4.63 illustrate human animate participants. Example 4.64 is an example of an Ergative marked non-human animate agent.

- 4.64 *Wirta-lu wana-rnu pujikat-pa.*
 dog-ERG chased-PST cat-PA
 The dog chased the cat. [SWPMi]

The di-transitive verb *yuwa* ‘give’ has an Ergative case marked subject and two Absolutive marked arguments *mirrka* ‘grass’ and *marlu* ‘kangaroo’ (§7.1.1). The ergative case marks the Agent in the next example with the verb *yungin* ‘are giving’.

- 4.65 *Yung-in-pa-ra-pula marlu mirrka nyupa-rarra-lu yirna-lu.*
 give-PRES-PA-3sgDAT-3dIS kangaroo grass spouse-PAIR-ERG man-ERG
 The husband and wife are giving grass to the kangaroo. [NBK2:29]

4.4.1.2 The Experiencer of an activity

In example 4.66 and 4.67 the Ergative marked subject *jiji-lu* ‘child’ and *Nyapajayi-lu* ‘child in the subsection *Nyapajarri*’⁴ has the role of experiencer. In this role the Ergative marked participant has a sensory experience but doesn’t control or have a visible effect on the action.

- 4.66 *Jiji-lu-ya mirrka parntin-in.*
 child-ERG-3plS food smell-PRES
 The children are smelling the food. [NBK3:76]

- 4.67 *Nyapajayi-lu Jukuna nya-ngu.*
 subsection.name-ERG name saw-PST
 Nyapajayi saw Jukuna. [NBK3:101]

4.4.1.3 The Force of an activity

The Ergative case can be used for inanimate subjects that are the cause of an action but don’t have conscious control over the action. In example 4.68 the action *wakanin* ‘spear, strike’ is caused by the sun *jirntu-lu*. The sun *jirntu-lu* has Ergative case although it does not consciously cause the action.

- 4.68 *Jirntu-lu-jananya waka-nin.*
 sun-ERG-3plO strike-PRES
 The sun is shining on them[the children]. [SWPN1]

⁴ *Nyapajayi* is a diminutive form of the subsection name *Nyapajarri* (§1.2). In this instance it is used for a small child.

4.4.1.4 Inanimate agents with Ergative case

The Ergative case on inanimate nouns could be interpreted as instruments. Examples of inanimate nouns marked with the Ergative case are not uncommon. Hale (1982) points out that Ergative marked inanimate nouns in Warlpiri look rather like instrument case but that they cannot be for two reasons. The same reasons are appropriate for disallowing the instrument case in these Wangkajunga examples. Firstly *makarta* ‘hat’ and *warta* ‘stick’ are both semantically agents and not instruments as they are the cause of the effect depicted by the verb.

4.69 *Makarta-lu-rni ngaa-lu wirru-pu-ngu.*
hat-ERG-1sgO DEM-ERG throw-hit-PST
That hat tripped me. [NBK2]

4.70 *Warta-lu-nta wirrka-rnu.*
stick-ERG-2sgO scratch-PST
The stick scratched you. [NBK2]

Secondly the Ergative case but not the instrument is crossreferenced by the pronominal clitic. In example 4.71 the verb *ngalunin* ‘holding’ has an Ergative marked subject *warta* ‘sticks’ which is crossreferenced by the third person plural subject pronoun *-ya*.

4.71 *Warta-lu-ya wirliwirli ngalu-nin.*
stick-ERG-3plS fishing.line hold-PRES
The branches have got hold of the fishing line. [NBK3]

4.4.2 The Absolutive case

The Absolutive case marks the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause. This is marked by zero. Examples 4.56 and 4.57 illustrated the Ergative-Absolutive case marking in Wangkajunga. The two examples are repeated here as 4.72 and 4.73. In this discussion of the Absolutive case I have added the symbol \emptyset to nominals in the Absolutive. In all other sections of the grammar Absolutive case is indicated by lack of marking. Absolutive marked arguments can have the semantic role of Patient. Typical patients are those that undergo a change of state or an activity. Wangkajunga also treats subjects of copula verbs and locative sentences in the same way. In examples 4.72 to 4.74 *tuju* ‘woman’, *wanapari* ‘dingo’ and *jiji* ‘children’ are Absolutive marked arguments.

4.72 *Tuju- \emptyset ya-nu.*
woman-ABS go-PST
The woman went. [NBK2]

4.73 *Parnaparnti-lu tuju- \emptyset paja-rnu*
goanna-ERG woman-ABS bite-PST
The goanna bit the woman. [NBK3:53]

4.74 *Wanapari- \emptyset kuka palya.*
dingo-ABS meat.food good
Dingo is good food. [DHN]

4.75 *Ngaa-ya jiji- \emptyset wiyaju nyin-in-pa yurlta-ngka.*
DEM-3plS child-ABS only sit-PRES-PA camp-LOC
In this one, only the children are in camp. [SWPN]

Example 4.65 shows that both non-subject arguments of the verb *yuwa* ‘give’ are in the Absolutive case. The example is repeated below as example 4.76 with the Absolutive marking on both the non-subject arguments *marlu* ‘kangaroo’ and *mirrka* ‘grass’. Both non-subject arguments of this verb receive Absolutive case but only one is in the role of Patient. In example 4.76 *mirrka* ‘grass’ is a typical Patient but *marlu* ‘kangaroo’ is a typical Recipient. The recipient role is generally in the Dative case (§4.1.4). The Dative marking is optional on the recipient argument of the verb *yuwa* ‘give’.⁵

- 4.76 *Yung-in-pa-ra-pula* *marlu-ø* *mirrka-ø* *nyupa-rarra-rlu*
 give-PRES-PA-3sgDAT-3dIS kangaroo-ABS grass-ABS spouse-PAIR-ERG
 yirna-rlu.
 man-ERG
 The husband and wife are giving grass to the kangaroo. [NBK2:29]

4.4.2.1 The Absolutive case and the *-nga* suffix

In §4.4.1 I indicated that proper nouns and pronouns in Wangkajunga have the same Ergative-Absolutive case marking as common nouns. This is illustrated in examples 4.62 and 4.63. Some Western Desert languages have a different case marking on proper nouns than the zero marking on common nouns. Absolutive case marking for proper nouns is *-nya* and *-nga* in Ngaanyatjarra (Glass and Hackett 1970), *-nga*, *-nya* and *-pa* in Pintupi (Hansen 1978) and *-nya* in Pitjantjatjara (Bowe 1990) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985). Burridge (1996) has suggested that the *-nga* suffix in Yulparija, which is only found on animate nouns, may be performing a similar function.

As examples 4.62 and 4.63, and example 4.75 below show, Wangkajunga proper nouns in the Absolutive appear without case marking.

- 4.77 *Realla-lu* *Mayapu-ø* *waja-rnu*.
 proper name-ERG proper name-ABS speak-PST
 Realla told Mayapu. [NBK3]

Wangkajunga has a suffix *-nga* that has a different perhaps pragmatic function. It possibly labels the focus of the text as in example 4.78. In example 4.79 the *-nga* suffix signals a focus on the Aboriginal people’s language in contrast to the English word mentioned previously. Morphologically marked pragmatic function is explored further in §12.1.4.10.

- 4.78 *Ngaa-nga* *mayi* *ngapi* *kumpupaja*.
 DEM-FOC food HES bush.fruit
 This is that, what’s its name, ‘*kumpupaja*’. [PHOTOS]
- 4.79 *Watpala-lu* *wajan-in* *sore* *kartiya-lu-nguninji* *ka-laju*
 Europeans-ERG say-PRES ‘sore’ Europeans-ERG-SPEC CONJ-1plexS
 mimi *waja-nin* *ngayu-n-ju-nga* *mimi-laju* *wajan-in*
 ‘*mimi*’ say-PRES 1sg-PL-ERG-FOC ‘*mimi*’-1plexS say-PRES

⁵ The same applies to the verb ‘give’ in neighbouring Walmajarri. In Walmajarri the verb *yinya* ‘give’ has two Absolutive marked non-subject arguments (Hudson 1978:54)

puntu-lu kurnkurn-ju-nga
 people-ERG black-ERG-FOC
 White people say ‘sore’, that’s the English and we say ‘*mimi*’. We, the
 Aboriginal people, say ‘*mimi*’. [BRNS]

4.4.3 The Dative case

The dative case in Wangkajunga is marked by the suffix, *-ku*, as is common in many Australian languages (Blake 1977). There is no allomorphic variation to this form on nouns and adjectives or pronouns. In Wangkajunga it occurs in a number of syntactic and semantic contexts to indicate the purpose for which an action is performed, the beneficiary of an action, the target of a locutionary act, the reason for a particular emotion, the cause or lack of a mental state or a relationship of ownership.

4.4.3.1 The purpose of an activity

In this function the dative can occur on nouns and nominalised verbs (§11.1.3.1) and is most often with verbs of motion. In the following examples the dative occurs on single nouns denoting an entity needed or wanted by the speaker. The dative case *-ku* is crossreferenced in the bound pronominal clitic third person singular dative *-ra*.

4.80 *Puntu-ra ya-nin-pa mirrka-ku.*
 man-3sgDAT go-PRES-PA food-DAT
 The man is going for food. [NBK2:204]

4.81 *Tuju-ra wirrjan-in mirrka-ku talakutu-ku*
 woman-3plDAT run-PRES food-DAT mango-DAT
 The woman is running for a mango.⁶ [NBK2]

Dixon (1980:298) observes the semantic correspondence between local cases and semantic peripheral cases, termed semantic cases in this grammar.

Allative and purposive indicate different types of goal – the place to which motion is directed, and the person or thing to which the activity is directed.

In Wangkajunga the allative and purposive appear in similar contexts where the difference in meaning is slight. Sharp (1998:172) notes for Nyangumarta that the Allative suffix marks purposive goals that involve going out to hunt or gather food. Examples 4.82 and 4.83 illustrate Allative case on purposive goals in Wangkajunga in similar contexts to the previous dative marked goals. Allative marked purposive goals are not crossreferenced by pronominal bound pronouns in the same way as Dative marked goals. Example 4.82 was used when the women went on a day’s expedition to the region where the bush potatoes grow.

4.82 *Tuju-rti-ya karnti-kutu ya-nu.*
 woman-PL-3plS potato-ALL go-PST
 The women went for potatoes. [NBK2]

4.83 *Puntu-ya ya-nin-pa mirrka-kutu.*
 man-3plS go-PRES-PA food-ALL
 The man is going for food. [NBK2:204]

⁶ The word *talakutu*, used here for ‘mango’, is also the word for an edible insect gall.

Constructions like purposives are found with verbs of searching, looking for and tracking for. Verbs such as *nyawa* ‘look’ and *watijurra* ‘track’ take two arguments Ergative and Absolutive or, in the purposive construction, Ergative and Dative. The agent of the activity has Ergative case, marked overtly in the first example, and the entity that is being searched for is marked with the Dative case. Both the agent and the purposive goal are crossreferenced in the bound pronominal clitics. As the entity in each of these examples is a single item the cross-referencing clitic for the dative is the third person singular Dative *-ra*. Example 4.86 illustrates the agreement of the dative suffix on *jina-ku*, *road-ku*, *mutika-ku*.

- 4.84 *Murtilya-lu-ra yipi-ku ngurri-nin.*
 boy-ERG-3sgDAT mother-DAT search-PRES
 A boy is searching for his mother. [NBK2]
- 4.85 *Puntu-ku-ra nyang-in-pa tili-kurlu-lu.*
 man-DAT-3sgDAT look-PRES-PA light-HAV-ERG
 He is looking for the man with a torch. [NBK2]
- 4.86 *Purtu-laju-ra jina-ku watiju-rnu road-ku mutika-ku.*
 in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT track-DAT tracking-PST road-DAT vehicle-DAT
 We looked in vain for the track, the vehicle road. [KNG]

4.4.3.2 The beneficiary of an activity

Some verbs that have three arguments mark the beneficiary of the activity, the indirect or second object, with the dative case. Two verbs in the language always have two non-subject arguments. These are the verb *yuwa* ‘give’ and the verb *iyiyala* ‘send’. The verb *yuwa* has optional Dative marking and has been mentioned previously (example 4.65) and is discussed further in §7.1.1. The verb *iyiyala* ‘send’ has one non-subject argument, the participant who benefits from the event, marked with the Dative case. The first example has no overt noun phrase representing the beneficiary but it is signalled by the second person bound pronominal clitic *-ngku*. In example 4.88, the beneficiaries, *parntany-ti-ku* ‘the women’, have dative case and are crossreferenced by the dative clitic for third person plural *-janampa*. Other verbs such as *manu* ‘get’ and *mintim* ‘sew’ can have Dative beneficiaries. In examples 4.89 and 4.90 the beneficiaries *puntu-ku* ‘man’ and *ngurrpa-ku* ‘the ignorant ones’ are marked with the dative *-ku* and crossreferenced by the third person singular *-ra* and first person plural exclusive *-lampaju*, respectively.

- 4.87 *Yiya-nin-pa-rna-ngku*
 send-PRES-PA-1sgS-2sgDAT
 I’m sending it for you. [KNG]
- 4.88 *Puntu-rti-lu-janampa-ya parntany-rti-ku dollar yiyana-in.*
 man-PL-ERG-3plDAT-3plS woman-PL-DAT money send-PRES
 The men are sending money for the women. [NBK2:202]
- 4.89 *Kaja-kurnu-lu wama-ra ma-nu puntu-ku.*
 son-POSS-ERG tobacco-3sgDAT get-PST man-DAT
 The son got the tobacco for the man. [PNTGS]

- 4.90 *Turrirti-lampaju-ya minti-ma-rnu station-ta nyukurni ngurrpa-ku.*
 dress-1plexDAT-3plS sew(K)-CAUS-PST station-LOC before ignorant-DAT
 They made dresses for us, a long time ago on the station when we didn't know
 much. [FLBD]

4.4.3.3 Verbs of locution with dative arguments

In the first example the target of the locutionary act, *kartiya* 'European', is not marked with the Dative case and the entity being requested is crossreferenced in by the third person singular dative pronominal clitic *-ra*. This example also shows that the bound pronouns can be attached in a position other than second if it is after a verb (§10.1.1).

- 4.91 *Glyn-ju japi-nin-pa-ra kartiya.*
 name-ERG ask-PRES-PA-3sgDAT European
 Glyn is asking the white man for it. [NBK2]

In the next examples, 4.92 and 4.93, the entity that is the target of the locutionary act has the dative case and is crossreferenced by the relevant Dative clitic.

- 4.92 *Tuju-lu-ra nguun-man-in-pa kartiya-ku.*
 woman-ERG-3sgDAT grunt-CAUS-PRES-PA European-DAT
 The woman is grunting at the white man. [NBK2:84]

- 4.93 *Yumu-rna-ngku wangka-ngu.*
 just-1sgS-2sgDAT speech-PST
 I just spoke to you for no reason. [NBK2:262]

Example 4.94 illustrates that not all targets of locutionary acts are in the dative case. In this example the target is crossreferenced by the first person singular object clitic *-rni* and not the Dative object bound pronoun *-ju*. Purposive subordinate clauses such as the one in this example are discussed in §11.1.2.

- 4.94 *Barbara-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-jaku.*
 name-ERG-1sgO say-PST go-FUT-DS
 Barbara told me that she wants to go. [NBK3:65]

However the arguments of the same verb are crossreferenced by dative clitics in the next examples. In example 4.95 the subject still has Ergative case.

- 4.95 *Yijayi-lu-ju waja-rnu kalyu-ju ma-rra*
 name-ERG-1sgDAT say-PST water-1sgDAT get-IMP
 Yijayi said to me, 'Get me some water!' [NBK3:28]
- 4.96 *Waja-la-lampaju-ya ngana-yuru pawu-lku-ra flour*
 say-NARPST-1plexDAT-3plS INDEF-SIM cook-IRR-UNR flour
 They would say to us 'How is flour cooked?' [DHN]

4.4.3.4 Single argument verbs with dative complements

Some verbs that have Absolutive subjects have Dative complements. In the situations depicted by these verbs the object is unaffected by the event. The verb *kulyakanyila* 'wait for' is an example. In example 4.97 the entity that is the reason for the activity of the verb is marked by the dative case.

- 4.97 *Ngayu-rna-ra kulyakanyi-nin-pa Yijayi-ku*
 1sg-1sgS-3sgDAT wait-PRES name-DAT
 I am waiting for Yijayi. [NBK3:157]

4.4.3.5 The reason, source, or cause of emotions

The other intransitive verbs that choose dative complements are those that depict various emotions. The subject is the experiencer and the dative complement the source or cause of the particular emotion. These examples are all verbs formed by the addition of an inchoative suffix to a nominal. Other examples include *kuljirrari* ‘get angry’, *mikurri* ‘covet’, and *yurntiri* ‘sulk’.

- 4.98 *Pika-rri-ngu-rna-janampa jiji-rti-ku.*
 anger-INCH-PST-1sgS-3plDAT child-PL-DAT
 I got angry with all the children. [NBK2]
- 4.99 *Jiji-rti-ra-ya jinkirti-rri-in-pa jiji-ku juku-juku-ku.*
 child-PL-3sgDAT-3plS laugh-INCH-PRES-PA child-DAT small-RDP-DAT
 The children are laughing at the baby. [NBK3:60]
- 4.100 *Tuju-ra ninti-rri-ngu Wangkajunga-ku nyin-in-pa ngaa-ngka.*
 woman-3sgDAT know-INCH-PST language.name-DAT stay-PRES-PA DEM-LOC
 The woman who is learning Wangkajunga, lives here. [NBK3:114]

Dative complements also occur in clauses with nominal predicates. These complements are the source or cause of an emotion or mental state.

- 4.101 *Ninti-rna-ra wangka-ku*
 know-1sgS-3sgDAT language-DAT
 I know the language. [NBK:43]
- 4.102 *Jiji-ra-ya ngarrurta wama-ku.*
 child-3sgDAT-3plS happy nectar-DAT.
 The children are happy about the nectar. [NBK2]
- 4.103 *Ngulu-rri-ngu-rna-ra wirta-ku jii-ku yangka-ku*
 fright-INCH-PST-1sgS-3sgDAT dog-DAT DEM-DAT DEM-DAT
Mindirardi-janu-ku pajal-payi-ku.
 place name-ABL-DAT bite-CHAR-DAT
 I was frightened of that dog, the vicious one from Mindirardi. [NBK3:29]

In this last example 4.104 the source of the fear has the dative case but the cross-referencing is different from the previous example 4.103. Both are animate sources but the last is crossreferenced by an ablative pronominal clitic. See §6.2.1 for a discussion of cross-referencing human participants.

- 4.104 *Ngulu-ngulu-pa-laju-ngkura kartiya wayipala-ku*
 frightened-RDP-PA-1plexS-2plABL European European-DAT
 We were very frightened of you Europeans. [DHN]

4.4.3.6 Dative marked nominals indicating possession

The dative suffix is used adnominally as one of the ways that Wangkajunga marks possession. The Dative suffix marks the possessor of an entity. (see also Chapter 10 for a fuller discussion of possession and §4.2 for possession marked by the *-kurlu* ‘having’ suffix) Example 4.105 illustrates possession of country by kin, *mama* ‘father’ and *yipi* ‘mother’. Example 4.106 illustrates possession of place *ngurra* ‘home’ by a pronoun *nyuntu* ‘you’. In example 4.107 a non-human animate *turru jarlu* ‘big bird’ possesses a kin relation *yipi* ‘mother’. In these examples the dative marked nominals are crossreferenced by the dative pronominal clitics. In example 4.105 the father and mother have dative case and are crossreferenced by the third person dual dative clitic *-pulampa*. In example 4.106 the second person singular free pronoun has dative case and is crossreferenced by the second person singular dative clitic pronoun. In example 4.107 the demonstrative ‘this’ has dative case and is crossreferenced by the third person singular dative clitic.

- 4.105 *Ngaa-nga ngayu-kurnu mama-ku yipi-ku-pulampa kantri.*
 DEM-DEF 1sg-POSS father-DAT mother-DAT-3dlDAT country
 This is my father’s and mother’s country. [PNTGS]
- 4.106 *Wanja-ngku nyuntu-ku ngurra?*
 where-2sgDAT 2sg-DAT home?
 Where’s your home? [NBK2]
- 4.107 *Turru jarlu yipi-ra ngaa-ku.*
 bird big mother-3sgDAT DEM-DAT
 The big bird is this one’s mother. [SWPN]

4.5 The semantic cases

The previous section discussed the grammatical cases whose major function is to show the grammatical relation between an argument and its predicate. Semantic cases are themselves used as argument taking predicates to relate events or arguments and locations. In example 4.108 the locative case suffix *-ngka* relates a location *warta-ngka* ‘in the tree’ to the argument *parnaparnti* ‘goanna’.

- 4.108 *Parnaparnti warta-ngka tati-rnu.*
 goanna tree-LOC climb-PST
 The goanna climbed on the tree. [NBK1]

Simpson (1991:192) argues against making clear divisions between the grammatical and semantic cases. Simpson gives an example of a semantic case functioning in a similar way to a grammatical case (1991:195). Although infrequently, semantic cases in Wangkajunga can also function like grammatical cases. In example 4.109 the locative case acts in the same way as a grammatical case by relating an argument ‘pretty-flowers’ to a predicate *mampurlyarrima* ‘getting excited’. The pretty-flowers are crossreferenced by the third person singular bound pronoun *-lu*.

- 4.109 *Mampurlya-rri-ma-lu-ya pretty-flowers-ngka.*
 excited-INCH-PSTIMP-3sgACS-3plS flowers(K)-LOC
 They were getting excited about the flowers. [KNG]

Normally there is a more direct relation between the semantic case marker and a particular semantic role. The semantic cases can be subdivided into local and other semantic cases. The local cases, locative, perlocative, ablative and allative, are all used to describe the notion of an entity in space. The locative and perlocative cases are similar in that there is an assumption of contact between the entity and the place. In the allative and ablative cases there is sometimes the possibility that contact does not take place.

4.5.1 The Locative case

The locative case is marked by:

- ngka* after vowels
- ta* after consonants
- ja* after consonants

The allomorphs of the locative have a similar pattern to the allomorphs of the Ergative case marker. The *-ngka* allomorph is the most common. The locative also has alveolar and palatal stop allomorphs but with the lower vowel [a]. As with the Ergative allomorphs *-ja* follows consonant final words on Wangkajunga words and both *-ta* and *-ja* alternate after consonant final introduced words (§2.4.2) The following examples illustrate the three allomorphs. In example 4.110 the word *ngurra* describes the activity of camping and doesn't have the locative case. These types of 'active nominals' are described in §10.6.3.1.

- 4.110 *Ngurra-laju ngarriku Kurlku-ngka*
 camp-1plS sleep-FUT place name-LOC
 We'll camp at Kurlku. [NBK2]
- 4.111 *Tuju tati-rnu windmil-ja.*
 woman climb-PST windmill-LOC
 The woman climbed on the windmill. [NBK2]
- 4.112 *Turrirti-lampaju-ya mintim-ma-nu station-ta.*
 dress-1plDAT-3plS sew-CAUS-PST station-LOC
 They made these dresses for us on the station. [FLBD]

In Wangkajunga the locative case marks the relationship between an entity and a place or a time. Commonly the entity is one or both of the core arguments of the verb and its relationship to the place is denoted by a locative marked oblique noun phrase. Examples 4.113 and 4.114 are intransitive verbs with a single argument in a specified location, the tree *wartangka* in 4.113 and the shade *wiljangka* in 4.114. In example 4.115 it is the object *ngunungunu* 'herb' of the transitive verb *junu* 'put' that is in the specified location *jina-nga* 'shoe'. In example 4.112 each argument of the transitive verb; the women who made the dresses, the dresses and the adjunct, the recipients of the dresses, are in the location *stationta* 'on the station'.

While the entity can be either animate or inanimate, the noun phrase denoting the place is usually inanimate. In the following examples an animate entity, the subject nominal, is in contact with an inanimate place. (Example 4.113 is repeated from 4.108)

- 4.113 *Parnaparnti warta-ngka tati-rnu.*
 goanna tree-LOC climb-PST
 The goanna climbed on the tree. [NBK1]

- 4.114 *Ngayu-rna wilja-ngka nyin-in-pa*
 1sg-1sgS shade-LOC sit-PRES-PA
 I am sitting in the shade. [NBK1]

The following example has an inanimate entity, the object nominal, in an inanimate place.

- 4.115 *Ngunu-ngunu-n ju-nu jina-ngka.*
 herb-RDP-2sgS put-PST shoe-LOC
 You put herbs in the shoe. [NBK2]

As example 4.116 illustrates, locative markers can be used on body part nominals.

- 4.116 *Pirrpirti-pirnti kanyi-nin-pa-n mara-ngka.*
 butterfly-RDP hold-PRES-2sgS hand-LOC
 You have a butterfly on your hand. [NBK2]

The previous examples indicate that the place can be a flat surface, a hollow area or something that surrounds the entity. The locative is also used for an entity in the vicinity of the place. In examples 4.117 and 4.118 the location can be translated as ‘by’.

- 4.117 *Nyina-ku-n karru-ngka.*
 sit-FUT-2sgS river-LOC
 Will you sit by the river? [NBK2]
- 4.118 *Waru-ngka-rna nyina-ma.*
 fire-LOC-1sgS sit-PSTIMP
 I was sitting by the fire. [NBK2]

The location of an entity in a place can be used to describe a means of transport in Wangkajunga.

- 4.119 *Malaku-rri-ngu-rna plane-ta ngurra-kutu Fitzroy-kutu.*
 return-INCH-PST-1sgS plane-LOC home-ALL Fitzroy-ALL
 I came back home to Fitzroy by plane. [FAX1]

The locative marked nominal also relates an entity to a place in time.

- 4.120 *Malaku ya-nku ruka-ngka.*
 return go-FUT afternoon-LOC
 She will go back in the afternoon. [NBK2]
- 4.121 *Raapu⁷-ngka-rna yan-in.*
 Friday-LOC-1sgS go-PRES
 I'm going on Friday. [KNG]

The locative case is typically used with verbs such as ‘lie’ and ‘stay’. Some verbs such as ‘climb’ require a locative nominal (see examples 4.111 and 4.113). Although motion verbs such as ‘coming’ and ‘going’ are used with the temporal meaning of the locative as in the examples 4.120 and 4.121, they are more common with allative and ablative cases. The following example seems unusual in having a locative marked nominal as the end

⁷ The word Friday cannot be used because of the death of a person with the name Friday. *Raapu* is the word used for bread and has been extended to Friday because Friday was bread-baking day in the mission times.

point of a direction. End points of motion verbs that are place names generally take the Allative suffix *-kutu* as in example 4.119.

- 4.122 *Ya-nu-laju Kurtal-ja kalyu-ngka.*
 go-PST-3plexS place.name-LOC water-LOC
 We went to the waterhole called Kurtal. [DHN]

In the next example the locative case marks a type of food. Arguments of the verb *jarrpa* ‘enter’ usually enter into places such as holes or homes. In this use the people entered the practice of eating beef.

- 4.123 *Palunyajanu-lu ngana-kujupa, ngaa-ngka-laju ya-nu*
 after.that-ERG INDEF-another DEM-LOC-1plexS go-PST
jarrpa-ngu puluman-ja.
 enter-PST bullock-LOC
 After that, what else, here, we got into beef. [DHN]

Wangkajunga has a means of indicating more specifically the location of an entity in space. The language has a number of spatial qualifiers (§4.7) that are used in conjunction with locative marked noun phrases.

- 4.124 *Purli-ngka kankani ngarri-n.*
 stone-LOC up lie-PRES
 She is lying up on the rock. [NBK1]
- 4.125 *Kaninjarra-ya larrku-ngka nyin-in-pa*
 down-3plS between.the.sandhills-LOC sit-PRES-PA
 They are staying in the valley between the sandhills. [SWPN]
- 4.126 *Murtilya ngarr-in nganjarr-pa waru-ngka.*
 boy lie-PRES outside-PA fire-LOC
 A boy is lying at the side near a fire. [SWPN]

4.5.2 The perlative case

The perlative case suffix is *-wana*. There are no variations to the form of this case marker. (See §4.8 for an indication of the widespread use of this suffix.) The perlative case also relates an entity to a place but it includes the notion that the entity moves along a path in contact with, or that it is spread across, the place. In the following example the children are not just in one place on the sandhills but are playing in several places along the sandhill.

- 4.127 *Ngarlpu-rri-n-pa-ya tali-wana.*
 play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS sandhill-PERL
 They are playing along the sandhills. [DHM]

Other translations of this case include across, around, by way of, and through.

- 4.128 *Wala-wana parra-yan-in.*
 lake-PERL around-go-PRES
 She went right around the lake. [SWPN]

In the following example body parts are the ‘place’ and the contact is made by spreading across the place.

- 4.129 *Mimi-ya kanyi-la jina-wana kurrupa-wana,*
 sore-3plS have-NARPST foot-PERL arm-PERL
 They would have sores across their feet, along their arms, [SWPM]

4.5.3 The Allative case

The allative case has two forms. There is no meaning difference between the two forms and no phonological conditioning for the use of one form rather than another. Both forms appear to be based on the Dative purposive/marker *-ku* (Dixon 1980:309). The suffix *-kutu* is the most common. The alternative allative suffix *-kurra*, was offered by one speaker (see below).

-kutu

-kurra

The Allative case can indicate a movement towards a place by an entity. The place is the end point of the movement. The exact meaning does not require that the end point is reached. Understandably this case is most commonly used with the motion verbs *ya* ‘go’ as in examples 4.130 and 4.131 and also *wirrjala* ‘run’ (example 4.149), *maayanin* ‘go back’, *marala* ‘crawl’. In example 4.60 it occurs with the verb *kati* ‘take’, ‘carry’. The nominals marked by this case have the role of purposive goals (see also §4.4.3.1).

- 4.130 *Kurlku-kutu-laju ya-nu.*
 place.name-ALL-1plexS go-PST
 We went to Kurlku. [KNG]
- 4.131 *Yanku-li karru-kutu.*
 go-FUT-1dIS river-ALL
 We(two) are going to the river. [NBK2]
- 4.132 *Ya-nu-la karnti-kutu.*
 go-PST-1plS potato-ALL
 We went for potatoes. [NBK1]

The form *-kurra* is occasionally used by some speakers. This is identical to the allative case marker in Warlpiri (§4.8).

- 4.133 *Ya-rra-ya ngurra-kurra.*
 go-IMP-3plS home-ALL
 Go home all of you! [NBK3]

4.5.4 The Ablative case

There are two suffixes *-janu* and *-nguru* that describe the movement of an entity away from a place. They are not phonologically conditioned and have slightly different meanings. Although the meanings appear to differ they also overlap. Examples 4.134 and 4.135 are illustrations of their most common use.

- 4.134 *Ngayu-rna ya-nu Sydney-janu.*
 1sg-1sgS go-PST place name-ABL
 I came from Sydney. [NBK1]
- 4.135 *Wanja-nguru-n warinkati-ngu?*
 where-ABL-2sgS arrive-PST
 Where did you come from? [NBK2]

4.5.4.1 The *-janu* Ablative suffix

The *-janu* suffix has a number of uses. It is suffixed to common nominals, pronouns and demonstratives. Examples 4.136 and 4.137 illustrate the use of *-janu* suffixed to the demonstrative *jii* ‘there’ and the third person singular free pronoun *palunya*. The form *palunyajanu* occurs frequently in the texts as a sentence modifier (§10.6.4). In example 4.136, *jijjanu* relates this example to a previous location and in example 4.137 *palunya-janu* relates the example to a previous event.

- 4.136 *jii-janu-laju malaku-rri-ngu*
 DEM-ABL-1plS return-INCH-PST
 we turned back from there, [KNG]
- 4.137 *Palunya-janu-laju ya-nu.*
 SENTMOD-ABL-1plS go-PST
 After that we went. [KNG]

The suffix *-janu* is frequently added to nominals in expressions involving time as in the following examples:

- Kapukurri-janu* ‘from the Dreamtime’
 Dreamtime-ABL
- kuwarri-janu* ‘from just recently’
 now-ABL
- yalta-puru-janu* ‘after the cold season’
 cold-TEMP-ABL

Example 4.138 illustrates the *-janu* suffix with a temporal meaning.

- 4.138 *road-pa-laju nyukurni-janu ma-nu.*
 road-PA-1plS before-ABL get-PST
 We got the road a long time ago. [KNG]

The *-janu* suffix is frequently used to specify the source of a material, such as the production of a plant, the production of fat and the growth of a grub. Some examples of this use are listed below. In example 4.139 the ablative suffix *-janu* is suffixed to *puluman* ‘bullock’ which is the source for the *jira* ‘fat’.

- mankarl-janu mirrka* ‘edible seeds from the spinifex grass’
 grass-ABL food
- puluman-janu jirra* ‘bullock fat’, ‘suet’
 bullock-ABL fat

lungkurn-janu lukurti ‘grub found in a wattle tree’
wattle.tree-ABL grub

- 4.139 *yangka pawun-un-pa-ya jira yangka puluman-janu jira.*
DEM cook-PST-PA-3plS fat DEM bullock-ABL fat
the fat that they boiled, the bullock fat. [FLBD]

The suffix *-janu* is also used with arguments about the cause of an event. The two examples 4.140 and 4.141 below are illustrations of this use.

- 4.140 *Ngana-janu mimi-kurlu-rna, kurnka-janu.*
INDEF-ABL sick-HAV-1sgS raw-ABL.
What’s wrong? The raw meat made me sick. [NBK2]

- 4.141 *Ngana-janu wirta-lu kati-ngu*
INDEF-ABL dog-ERG take PST
Why did the dog take it? [NBK2]

4.5.4.2 The *-nguru* Ablative suffix

The use of the suffix *-nguru* is more restricted than the use of *-janu*. As examples 4.142 and 4.143 indicate both suffixes are used to show the movement of an entity from a place. This appears to be the primary function of the *-nguru* suffix. Examples 4.142 to 4.144 are further examples. In example 4.142 the movement is away from a house. In example 4.143 the movement is a downward one from the top of a sandhill. Example 4.144 does not in fact describe a movement but the position of a shooter in relation to the target.

- 4.142 *Yijayi-kurnu-nguru ngurra-nguru*
name-POSS-ABL home-ABL
from Yijayi’s home [KNG]
- 4.143 *kankani-nguru tali-nguru*
up-ABL sandhill-ABL
from up on a sandhill [SWPMi]
- 4.144 *yangka-pa mutika-nguru yungkal-ngara*
DEM-PA vehicle-ABL shoot-OBLIG
If he’d tried to shoot it from the car, [KNG]

There are no recorded examples with the *-nguru* suffix on time nominals and on nominals denoting the source of a material. The following sentence with the suffix *-nguru* indicating ‘cause’ was acceptable.

- 4.145 *Pu-ngu-rni-n ngana-nguru?*
hit-PST-2sgO-2sgS INDEF-ABL
Why did you hit me? [NBK2]

One speaker has used more examples of *-nguru* than other speakers. This could mean that the two suffixes come from different dialects. Two similar suffixes with similar meaning differences are found in the neighbouring languages Gooniyandi, Walmajarri, Jaru, Manyjilyjarra, Yulparija, Kukatja and also in Warlpiri (see §4.8 below).

4.5.5 Local cases with animate places

Local cases that mark human animate places in Wangkajunga are treated differently from those that mark inanimate places. The case suffix marks the place but if the place is animate it is crossreferenced by a pronominal clitic. There are two sets of clitics, one set for the locative and allative cases and another for the ablative case. The pronominal clitics are discussed further in §6.2.1. This section gives some examples of animate places.

4.5.5.1 Locative

In the following the example the children are the entity and their mother is equivalent to the place. The speaker has used two synonyms for mother, *yipi* and *tilpu*, both of which have the locative suffix *-ngka*. The word for ‘my’ also receives locative case. The mother is crossreferenced by the clitic *-lu*, third person singular Accessory case (§6.2.1.4). The clitic forms used to signal the accessory case are similar in form to the object form with the exception of the third person singular. In the object forms the third person singular is signalled by a zero morpheme, in the Accessory case it is signalled by *-lu*.

- 4.146 *Muntara-laju-lu wanan-ma, yipi-ngka tilpu-ngka*
 grab-1plexS-3sgACS follow-PSTHB mother-LOC mother-LOC
ngayu-kurnu-ngka.
 1sg-POSS-LOC
 We used to follow my mother and grab at her. [DHN]

4.5.5.2 Allative

Movement by an entity towards an animate place is also signalled in the pronominal clitics. In this example the first person singular entity is moving towards the animate place, the person called *Jukuja*. *Jukuja* has Allative case.

- 4.147 *Ya-nin-pa-rna-lu Jukuja-kutu.*
 go-PRES-1sgS-3sgACS personal name-ALL
 I’m going over to Jukuja. [NBK3:7]

4.5.5.3 Ablative

Movement by an entity away from an animate place is also signalled in the pronominal clitics. In example 4.148 the Sydney people are marked by the ablative *-janu* and signalled in the pronominal clitics by *-janampalura*. The first person singular *-rna* is moving from the animate place, which is the Sydney people.

- 4.148 *Ya-nu-rna-janampalura Sydney-janu*
 go-PST-1sgS-3plABL name-ABL
 I left those Sydney people. [NBK3:86]

4.5.6 The Avoidance case

The avoidance suffix follows a nominal referring to an inanimate entity that needs to be avoided. Animate entities that need to be avoided are marked with *-janu* and are crossreferenced with the Ablative bound pronouns (§6.2.1.5). This suffix differs from other

nominal suffixes in that it is composed of two morphemes *-ngka*, *-ja* or *-ta* which are homophonous with the locative and *-marra*.

-ngkamarra after a vowel
-jamarra after a consonant

The suffix is not at all common. There are no examples of the suffix in the texts.

- 4.149 *Jiji-rti-ya wirrja-rnun junturl-jamarra wungku-kutu.*
 child-PL-3plS ran-PST dust-AVOID windbreak-ALL
 The children ran to the windbreak to get away from the dust. [NBK3]
- 4.150 *Ngari-n-pa-rna jirntu-ngkamarra ngumpa-ngka.*
 lie-PRES-PA-1sgS sun-AVOID shade-LOC
 I'm staying in the shade because of the sun. [NBK3:96]

4.5.7 The Genitive case

4.5.7.1 *-kurnu* (POSS) genitive

The genitive suffixes *-kurnu*, *-kura* and *-kurangu* are suffixed to a nominal possessor. The 'having' suffix discussed above marks the possessed entity and the Dative case (§4.4.3.6) also marks a possessor.

The *-kurnu* form of the genitive is by far the most common in the texts and conversation. This form of the genitive is not limited to kin terms as illustrated by example 4.151. It can also be added to common nominals relating to people such as *tuju* 'woman', proper names as in example 4.152 and racial names as in example 4.153.

- 4.151 *Kujarra-pula ngayu-kurnu kurta ngayu-kurnu mama*
 two-3dls 1sg-POSS brother 1sg-POSS father
 The two of them, my brother and my father. [DHN]
- 4.152 *Realla-kurnu mami Realla-kurnu jamu.*
 name-POSS mother(K) name-POSS grandfather
 Realla's mother, Realla's grandfather. [DHN]
- 4.153 *Porcupine-pa kartiya-kurnu, ngapi ngapi nginu*
 porcupine-PA European-POSS HES HES 'nginu'
 Porcupine is the English word, it's um, 'nginu'. [SWPN]

4.5.7.2 *-kura* (POSS) Genitive

The *-kura* form is also the Genitive in neighbouring Walmajarri (Richards and Hudson (1990:378)). There are a very small number of examples with this suffix.

- 4.154 *trailer, ngapi-kura Michael-ku,*
 trailer HES-POSS name-DAT
 The trailer is, um, whose? Michael's. [KNG]

4.5.7.3 *-kurangu* (POSS) Genitive

Example 4.155 is the only recorded incidence of *-kurangu*. This is the same form as the genitive suffix in Yulparija. There is no obvious meaning difference between this suffix and the other forms.

- 4.155 *Kartiya-kurangu turrirti.*
 European-POSS dress(K)
 a European's dress [FLBD]

4.6 Derivational case

Section 4.2 was a discussion of the nominal affixes that are suffixed to nominal roots to produce nominal stems. Some of these affixes also function as case markers. The following derivational affixes are the ones most commonly used as derivational case.

Derivational cases

<i>-kurlu</i>	HAV	having
<i>-jarra</i>	ASST	associated with
<i>-pinti</i>	THING	associated thing
<i>-karraja</i>	DWELL	dweller
<i>-parni</i>	PRIV	privative
<i>-jiraja</i>	WANT	want
<i>-puru</i>	TEMP	temporal
<i>-yuru</i>	SIM	similar
<i>-marta</i>	MOD	moderative
<i>-kurnu</i>	POSS	genitive
<i>-kura</i>	POSS	genitive
<i>-kurangu</i>	POSS	genitive

Derivational case functions in a similar way to semantic case. The derivational case suffix acts as a predicate that can take nominal arguments. Two examples of derivational cases are illustrated below. Example 4.156 is repeated from 4.5. In this example the derivational suffix *-kurlu* means roughly 'the ones having the cooked meat'. The suffix *-kurlu* is the predicate with 'the ones' as a subject argument and the cooked meat as a non-subject argument. In example 4.157 the derivational suffix *-yuru* means roughly 'the one that is like *mulany*'. The suffix *-yuru* acts as the predicate of the subject argument 'the one' and the non-subject argument *mulany*.

- 4.156 *Ngula-ya miti-kurlu warinkati-ngu ruka-ruka.*
 later-3plS cooked.meat-HAV come -PST afternoon-RDP
 Later in the afternoon the ones with the cooked meat would arrive. [DHN]
- 4.157 *jarrawan yangka mulany-yuru-kujupa*
 bush.fruit DEM bush.fruit-SIM-ANOTH
jarrawan, it's like that other one, *mulany* [DHN]

4.7 Temporal and spatial nominals

Wangkajunga has a small sub-class of nominals with restricted case marking.

4.7.1 Temporal modifiers and other temporal expressions

These are a small group of nominals that place an event in time. These are discussed briefly below.

4.7.1.1 Times of the day

The time of day words *ruka* ‘afternoon’, *raka* ‘dawn’, and *munga* ‘night’ can be marked by the locative. It is also common for the words in this group to be suffixed by the associative suffix *-jarra* (§4.2). Reduplication of the forms *ruka* and *raka* make it later or earlier in the day respectively.

<i>munga</i>	night
<i>yungunypa</i>	morning, tomorrow
<i>ruka</i>	sunset
<i>raka</i>	sunrise
<i>rakarra</i>	sunrise
<i>kanangka</i>	sunrise
<i>karrpu</i>	day

The word *kana-ngka* ‘wake up time’ is a frozen form which because of the final locative is interpreted as *kana* ‘awake’ plus the locative suffix. Example 4.158 illustrates the use of a locative marked temporal nominal.

- 4.158 *Ngarri-ngu-liju yungunypaka-rnu paka-rnu-liju rakarra-ngka*
 lie-PST-1dIS get.up.in.the.morning-PST get.up-PST-1dIS sunrise-LOC
 We two would sleep and the next morning we would get up early. [DHN]

4.7.1.2 Directions

Wangkajunga speakers, like the speakers of many Australian languages, use the compass points, plus *kankani* ‘up’ and *kanin* ‘down’, as the primary means of specifying direction. These are a very small group of words with allative and ablative suffix forms particular to this group. They are also suffixed by the derivational suffixes *-kujupa* ‘another’ (example 4.162) and *-karti* ‘side’. The spatial nominals are listed below. Examples of their use follow. Examples 4.159 and 4.160 illustrate the use of the terms with ablative *-mpanguru* and allative *-warraku* and example 4.161 the use of a compass point as well as *kanin* ‘below’.

<i>kayili</i>	north
<i>kakarra</i>	east
<i>wilura</i>	west
<i>yulparrira</i>	south
<i>kankani</i>	above, on top of
<i>kanin</i>	below

- 4.159 *Ya-nu kayili-mpanguru munta-ya*
 go-PST north-ABL DUB-3plS
 They might have all come from the north. [PNTGS]

- 4.160 *Ya-nku-rna wilura-warraku*
 go-FUT-1sgS west-ALL
 I will go towards the west. [NBK2:192]
- 4.161 *Yana-ma-ya yulparrira kaninjarra laltu puntu*
 go-PSTIMP-3plS south down-ASST many people
 A lot of people were going down south. [PNTGS]
- 4.162 *Purlturr-pu-ngu-rna waka-rnu kankani-kujupa janta.*
 skewer-hit-PST-1sgS spear-PST on.top.of-ANOTH piece
 I put a hole through it and then put it on top of the last piece. [PHOTOS]
- 4.163 *ngaa wilura-kujupa-nga, ngana kuka-munta*
 DEM west-ANOTH-FOC INDEF meat-DUB
 this other thing in the west, what animal food could it be? [SWPN]

The meanings of these terms are extended to many metaphorical uses. The direction of the hotel in one community is referred to as *kanin* ‘down’. As the hotel is alongside the river this may be an extension to referring to going down to the river. The direction of the old mission that was once the centre of the town is always referred to as *kayili* ‘north’ from other parts of the town. The centre of the new parts of the town were roughly south of the old mission but have spread widely to the east and west. One example of this extension of the meaning of direction terms is the following use of *kankani* ‘up’ where it refers to the direction of the station homestead.

- 4.164 *Only flourbag, flour-janu yangka pawu-nin-pa-ya kankani*
 only(E) flourbag(E) flour(E)-ABL DEM cook-PRES-PA-3plS up
 Only flourbags, from the flour that they cook with up there [in the homestead].
 [FLBD]

4.7.1.3 Ego-centric direction terms

I have recorded the ego-centric terms ‘left’ and ‘right’ although they are not often used. They are used to refer to the right or left side of the body and to body parts associated with the left or right side. The terms are not attested without the suffix *-karti* ‘side’. Walmajarri has the nominal *maya* ‘strong’ and also *mayakarti* ‘right side’ or ‘strong side’ and *jampukarti* ‘left side’ or ‘weak side’ (Richards and Hudson 1990:150).

- jungakarti* ‘right side’
jampukarti ‘left side’
mayakarti ‘right side’

4.8 Comparing nominal morphology

This section highlights some of the major differences in the nominal morphology of the four northern Western Desert languages and Pintupi and the four southern languages of the Western Desert. Some similarities with the traditional neighbouring Marrngu and Ngumbin languages are noted.

The order of languages in the two tables is based roughly on geographical proximity. The non-Western Desert languages are grouped separately from the Western Desert

languages and in an east to west order. The Western Desert languages are listed in a roughly north to south order.

4.8.1 Grammatical case marking on sub-classes of nominals

Table 4.2 indicates the grammatical case on the subgroups of nominals; common nouns, proper nouns, independent pronouns and bound pronouns, in the Western Desert languages and of four of their northern traditional neighbours.

Table 4.2: Grammatical case marking on nominals in Western Desert and Four non-Western Desert northern neighbours

Language	Common nouns		Proper nouns		Independent pronouns		Bound pronouns/AUX	
Non-Western Desert	A	S O	A	S O	A	S O	A S	O
Warlpiri	<i>rlu ngku</i>	\emptyset	<i>rlu ngku</i>	\emptyset	<i>rlu ngku</i>	\emptyset	NOM	ACC
Jaru	<i>ngu, gu, lu, gulu, tu, ju, u</i>	\emptyset	<i>ngu, gu, lu, gulu, tu, ju, u</i>	\emptyset	<i>ngu, gu, lu, gulu, tu, ju, u</i>	\emptyset	NOM	ACC
Walmajarri	<i>rlu, ngu, u, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	<i>rlu, ngu, u, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	<i>rlu, ngu, u, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	NOM	ACC
Nyangumarta	<i>lu, ju</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju</i>	\emptyset	NOM	ACC
Northern Western Desert			A					
Yulparija	<i>lu, ju</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju</i>	\emptyset	NOM	ACC
Wangkajunga, Kukatja, Manyjilyjara,	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	NOM	ACC
Pintupi	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	<i>nya, nga, pa</i>	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	<i>nya, nga, pa</i>	NOM	ACC
Southern Western Desert	A	S O	A	S O	A S	O	A S	O
Ngaanyatjarra	<i>lu, tu</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, tu</i>	<i>nya, nga, pa</i>	\emptyset	<i>nya, nga</i>	NOM	ACC
Pitjantjatjara	<i>ngku, ju, tu, rtu</i>	\emptyset	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	<i>nya</i>	\emptyset	<i>nya</i>	NOM	ACC

Language	Common nouns		Proper nouns		Independent pronouns		Bound pronouns/AUX	
Yankunytjatjara	<i>ngku, ju, tu, rtu, lu</i> ⁸	<i>ø</i>	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	<i>nya nga</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>nya</i>	NOM	ACC
Gugada	<i>ngku, ngu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>lu, ju, tu, rtu</i>	<i>nya nga</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>nya, nga</i>		

4.8.1.1 Common nouns

The case marking systems are for the major syntactic functions transitive subject, intransitive subject and direct object. All of these languages share an Ergative-Absolutive case marking system on common nouns. This system is described in §4.4. Hudson (1978) and Hansen (1978) have labelled the same system Ergative-Nominative in Walmajarri and Pintupi respectively.

4.8.1.2 Proper nouns and free pronouns

The northern Western Desert languages are similar to their Marrngu and Ngumbin neighbours in having the same Ergative-Absolutive system on all sub-classes of nominals including free pronouns. Blake (1977:9) points out that very few languages in Australia have free pronouns operating in an Ergative paradigm. He lists Pintupi, Walmajarri, Jaru, Warlpiri and Murinbada [sic] as languages that have free pronouns operating in an Ergative–Absolutive system. The core case marking of free pronouns is a feature that divides the northern Western Desert languages from Pintupi and the southern Western Desert languages. Independent pronouns and proper names in Pintupi are marked according to an Ergative–Absolutive system but the Absolutive is marked by *-nya* and *-nga* rather than zero. In Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara, and Gugada proper nouns are marked according to an Ergative–Absolutive system with transitive subject marked by *-lu* and intransitive subject and object marked by *-nya*. All three southern languages, Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Gugada, differ from all the northern languages in having a Nominative-Accusative system on independent pronouns (§5.6.1).

4.8.1.3 Bound pronouns

All of the languages mark bound pronouns or the cross-referencing system in the same way. That is, the subjects of single argument verbs are marked in the same way as the subjects of two argument verbs and the non-subject argument is marked differently. (See 6.5 for a comparison of cross-referencing bound pronouns.)

4.8.2 Grammatical and semantic case forms

Table 4.3 sets out the major grammatical and semantic cases of the languages under discussion. One suffix is shared by all languages. This is the Dative *-ku*, which is extremely common in Pama-Nyungan languages. The zero marking for Absolutive Case on common nouns is also shared by all languages. Of the other suffixes many are shared by all Western Desert languages but others group the northern Western Desert languages

⁸ The Ergative *-lu* is used on common nouns in Yankunytjatjara by some older speakers (Goddard 1985:24)

together while others group the northern Western Desert languages with their non-Western Desert neighbours. The various groupings of suffixes are highlighted below.

4.8.2.1 The Western Desert

All the Western Desert languages share the non-core cases listed below.

Non-core cases common to all Western Desert languages

Locative	-ngka
Allative	-kutu
Ablative/source	nguru/ngurlu

In Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara the instrument function is indicated by the locative case marker. Goddard (1985:41) says

The Western Desert is one of the minority of Australian languages in which instrumental function is expressed by the locative case.

However it is only the southern languages of the Western Desert that have this feature. The northern Western Desert languages are similar to their Non-Western Desert neighbours in expressing instrument function with the Ergative case marker or the comitative suffix.

4.8.2.2 Northern Western Desert – Yulparija, Wangkajunga, Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra

The languages of the northern Western Desert form a group because they share almost all core and semantic case suffixes. Yulparija differs from the other northern Western Desert languages in having *-karti* rather than *-kutu* as the common suffix for signalling Allative case. Yulparija shares this suffix with the non-Western Desert languages, Walmajarri and Nyangumarta. Wangkajunga has this suffix *-karti* for ‘side’ (§4.2.2.4) The *-kutu* form is a widespread allative case marker in the Western Desert. The following list shows the non-core cases shared by all northern Western Desert languages.

Non-core case suffixes common to the northern Western Desert languages

Locative	-ngka, -ja, -ta, -rta
Allative	-kutu
Ablative	-ngurlu
Source	-janu
Perlative	-wana
Privative	-parni
Having	-kurlu
Genitive	-kurnu

4.8.2.3 Northern Non-Western Desert languages

The form for source has similar forms across the Western Desert and these non Western Desert neighbours. In Nyangumarta, Jaru and Warlpiri the consonant in medial position is a lateral. The forms are *-ngulu* and *-ngurlu*. The lateral is retroflexed in Warlpiri. In Walmajarri the medial consonant is the nasal /rn/ and the form is *ngurni*.

Yulparija shares the Allative case suffix *-karti* with Nyangumarta and Walmajarri.⁹ Wangkajunga shares the Allative *-kurra* with Warlpiri. Wangkajunga shares a Genitive suffix *-kura* with Walmajarri and some Wangkajunga speakers share the Genitive *-kurangu* with Yulparija. The northern Western Desert languages all share the *-kurlu* 'Having' suffix with Warlpiri.

4.8.2.4 *-ngka/-la* locative

The locative form *-ngka* with the allomorphs *-ja* and *-ta* is widespread. All the Western Desert languages and two non-Western Desert languages share the *-ngka* form. This is a common form for the locative in Pama-Nyungan languages (Blake 1977:51). The *-ngka* form is the base for the Avoidance suffix in Wangkajunga, Kukatja and Manyjilyjarra. The *-rla* form is the base for the Avoidance in Walmajarri and a similar form *-nga* is the base for the Avoidance in Nyangumarta.

In all the languages, except for the northern Western Desert and Pintupi, the Ergative and Locative markers have the same form with a corresponding change in vowel. In the northern Western Desert languages the allomorphs *-ju/ja* and *tu/ta* for the Ergative and Locative have corresponding forms but the *-lu/-ngka* forms do not. The *-la* form of the Locative is found on free pronouns in Wangkajunga and on free pronouns, proper nouns and the definite nominal in Yankunytjatjara in case markers such as Allative *-la-kutu*, Ablative *-la-nguru* and Perlative *-la -wana*.

⁹ Speakers of these three languages are resident at Bidyadangga Community, formerly La Grange Mission. One of the non-Western Desert languages, Juwaliny, which is spoken at Bidyadangga, is a close relative of Walmajarri.

Table 4.3: Case markers in Western Desert and four northern neighbours

	Northern neighbours				Northern Western Desert				Pintupi	Southern Western Desert			
	Nyangu.	Walmaj.	Jaru	Warlp.	Yulpar.	Wangk.	Kukatj.	Manytj.	Pintupi	Ngaan.	Yanku.	Pitjan.	Gugad.
Ergative	lu	r/lu	ngku	ngku, r/lu	lu	lu	lu	lu	lu	lu	ngku	ngku	ngku
Locative	ng V, jV	r/la	ngka	ngka, r/la	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka
Absolutive	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø, nya, nga	Ø, nya	Ø, nya, nga	Ø, nya, nga
Dative	ku	jarti, lu	gu, wu, gura	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku
Purposive													
Instrument	lu	jarti, lu	ngku	lu	kur/lu, kur/hulu	kur/lu, kur/hulu	kur/lu, lu	lu	ngka	ngka	ngka	ngka	
Allative	karti, kurnu	karti	wurra, ngkawu	lu, kurra	karti	kutu, kurra	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu
Ablative Source	ngulu, ja	ngurni, jangka	ngulu	ngurlu, jangka	ngurnu, janu	nguru, janu	tjanu	nguru, janu	janu	nguru, tja	nguru	nguru	ngunyi
Perlative 'by way of'		r/lalu		wana	wana	wana	wana	wana	wana	wana, wanu	wanu	wanu	
Avoidance/ Causal/Lest	ng V/ jamarra	rlamarra, karrarla		kujaku		ngka-marra	ngka-marra	ngka-marra	ngka-marra	rtarra		ngka-tawarra	
Privative	majirri		wunja, mulang	wangu	parni	parni	parni	parni	parni, tjakumarra	tjiratja	tjiratja	tjiratja	aaja

5 *Pronouns and demonstratives*

Introduction

Free pronouns and demonstratives are a small closed class of words that are identified as nominals because they are inflected for case and number. Personal pronouns are marked for case in the same way as common nominals. Demonstratives are also marked for case but cannot take the full range of nominal suffixes. Wangkajunga has a complex system of cross-referencing bound pronouns. These are discussed in Chapter 6. This chapter discusses the forms and case marking of free pronouns and demonstratives. The syntax of pronouns and demonstratives is discussed in Chapter 10.

In §5.1 I describe the set of Wangkajunga free or independent personal pronouns. I then introduce the set of demonstrative pronouns in §5.2 and the set of locative demonstratives in §5.2.1. The interrogative pronouns are outlined in §5.3. Section 5.4 is discussion of the use of the ‘whatjamacallit’ words *ngapi* and *nganayi*. In the final section, 5.5, I compare the free pronoun and demonstrative forms in the northern Western Desert languages with those of the more southern Western desert languages and also with four northern non-Western Desert languages.

5.1 Personal pronouns

Wangkajunga has a small closed class of free, or independent, personal pronouns. These refer to the two main participants in the speech act. First person refers to the speaker and second person to the hearer. Persons other than speaker and hearer are treated slightly differently in Wangkajunga. The form *palunya* that refers to non-participants or third persons is discussed in §5.2. Free pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural number. The inclusive-exclusive distinction, found in many Australian languages (Dixon 1980:276), is not realised in these free pronouns. The free pronoun forms are illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Free pronoun forms

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngayu-kujarra</i>	<i>ngayu-n/ngayu-rti</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyuntu-kujarra</i>	<i>nyuntu-n</i>

There are two forms that can be suffixed to free pronouns to indicate plural; *-n* and *-rti*. The most common form is *-n*. The *-rti* suffix is used to indicate plural on nouns and adjectives as well as free pronouns. Burridge (1996:11) notes that *-rti* is the plural form for free pronouns in Yulparija.

In the recorded texts there is one occurrence of the form *ngampa*, which the consultant translated as ‘that mob’. Hansen (1978) describes two independent pronouns in Pintupi that depend on kin relationship to determine their referent, *ngayumpanyunya* ‘my offspring’ and *ngayupulanya* ‘my fathers’. The Wangkajunga term *ngampa* appears to have a similar meaning as it refers to adults in an actual rather than classificatory parental relationship to the storyteller. This special pronoun is illustrated in example 5.3 below.

The free pronouns are not used extensively in the texts or in conversation. They are not the only reference to the participants in the event. Participants in Wangkajunga are crossreferenced by the bound pronouns (§6.2). The function of the free pronouns is therefore not primarily to refer to a participant but to add contrast, clarification or emphasis. Free pronouns in Wangkajunga behave rather like stressed pronouns in English, as in

The linguistic students were there. **They** came but the others didn’t.

The contrastive function of free pronouns is illustrated by example 5.1 in which the speaker contrasts the use of a word by English speakers *kartiyalu* and Wangkajunga speakers *ngayunju* ‘we’.

- 5.1 *Kartiya-lu-nguninji wajan-in sore mimi waja-nin ngayu-n-ju-nga.*
 English-ERG-FOC say-PRES sore sore say-PRES 1sg-PL-ERG-FOC¹
 It’s the English speakers who say ‘sore’, but **we** say ‘mimi’. [BRNS]

The first text in the Appendix, ‘Childhood in the desert’, provides an example of the use of free pronouns in a text. Examples 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 are taken from this text. The adults are introduced by overt nominal arguments in example 5.2, and the children by a bound pronoun. In the subsequent sentence the children are introduced using an overt nominal argument and the free pronoun. The parents are referred to by the special pronoun *ngampa* (5.3). The use of the free pronoun is continued while there is a need to clarify the groups of participants in the story.

- 5.2 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka pungku-la yunga-ma.*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3plS game hit-SER give-PSTHB
 The mothers and fathers used to hunt animals for us. [DHN]

- 5.3 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma jiji-lu yurlta-ngka*
 1sg-PL-PA-1plexS camp stay-PSTHB child-3sgACS in.camp-LOC
nyina-ma-wu Ngampa-ya ya-rra pina.
 sit-PSTHB-EMPH 3plparents-3plS go-NARPST far.
 We would stay home in the camp with the baby. They (our parents) would go a long way. [DHN]

While the narrative continues to include both the adults and the children the free pronoun *ngayunpa* ‘we’ and *ngampa* ‘they, our parents’ are used. When the adults have gone hunting and the narrative describes only the activities of the children, the free

¹ This focus suffix is discussed in §12.1.3.3.

pronouns do not occur and the participants are clearly identified by the cross-referencing pronominal clitic *-laju*. This is illustrated in example 5.4.

- 5.4 *Kaanu-laju pungku-la ngalkun-ma nyunma-ngka pu-wa-laju*
 lizard-1plexS hit-SER eat-PSTIMP burnt.area-LOC hit-NARPST-1plexS
 yujunpu-wa ngalanga-la nyina-ma
 roast-NARPST eat-NARPST sit-PSTIMP
 We would be killing and eating the small lizards from the burnt area around the
 camp. We would stay around there killing and roasting and eating things. [DHN]

Free pronouns are not limited to texts. Example 5.5 was recorded during a hunting trip. The consultant was preparing for the long trek across the spinifex to look for fresh goanna burrows. She used the first person dual free pronoun to confirm that I was going to accompany her on the long hot walk.

- 5.5 *Ngayu-kujarra-li ya-nku*
 1sg-DUAL-1dIS go-FUT
 Are **both** of us going? [NBK3]

5.1.1 Case marking on personal pronouns

Unlike the other southern Western Desert languages (§4.4.1) the free pronouns in Wangkajunga are case marked in the same way as common nominals. The Locative is the exception for one speaker (example 5.10). Free pronouns are marked for Ergative, Absolutive, Dative and Locative. Table 5.2 sets out the case marking on Wangkajunga free pronouns.

Table 5.2: Grammatical case marking on free pronouns

	Ergative	Absolutive	Dative
1 singular	<i>ngayu-lu</i>	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngayu-ku</i>
1 dual	<i>ngayu-kujarra-lu</i>	<i>ngayu-kujarra</i>	<i>ngayu-kujarra-ku</i>
1 plural	<i>ngayu-n-ju</i>	<i>ngayu-n</i>	<i>ngayu-n-ku</i>
2 singular	<i>nyuntu-lu</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyuntu-ku</i>
2 dual	<i>nyuntu-kujarra-lu</i>	<i>nyuntu-kujarra</i>	<i>nyuntu-kujarra-ku</i>
2 plural	<i>nyuntu-n-ju</i>	<i>nyuntu-n</i>	<i>nyuntu-n-ku</i>

5.1.1.1 Grammatical case marking on personal pronouns

The following examples illustrate the personal pronouns with core case marking. In each of the examples the free pronouns are used to contrast or clarify. In example 5.6 the speaker is pointing out that she was the only one who ate the *kuka*; an animal that they had caught, while the others ate stew. The speaker of example 5.7 uses the free pronoun to clarify that it is actually two people, rather than just herself who want a lift. In example 5.8 the consultant is emphasising that I am the one who is forgetful and not herself. In the final example 5.9 a group of people have mugs but not the speaker.

Ergative -lu

- 5.6 *Only ngayu-lu-rna ngala-ngu ngapi, kuka.*
 only 1sg-ERG-1sgS eat-PST HES game
 I was the only one that ate the um, game. [KNG]

Ergative -ju

The -ju allomorph of the Ergative case is illustrated in example 5.1.

Absolutive -ø

- 5.7 *Ngayu-kujarra-ø-li kayili yanku-ra.*
 1sg-DUAL-ABS-1dIS north go-PURP
 Let's the **two of us** go north. [NBK2:97]
- 5.8 *Nyuntu-ø-ngulyu-n kawan-kawan.*
 2sg-ABS-CERT-2sgS forgetful-RDP
 You're the one that's stupid. [NBK2:104]

Dative -ku

- 5.9 *Wanja-ju ngayu-ku kartaku²*
 where-1sgDAT 1sg-DAT mug
 Where's **my** mug? [NBK2]

5.1.1.2 Semantic case marking on personal pronouns

The free pronouns can be suffixed by semantic case. The examples below illustrate the Locative, Allative and Genitive case marking on personal pronouns.

Locative -la

The Locative suffix is the only case that has a different form (-la) on free pronouns compared to the form on common nominals, (-ngka, -ja, -ta). The Locative case marker on common nominals is -ngka with the allomorphs -ta and -ja and the Locative on pronouns is -la. A Locative case marker -la is also found on free pronouns and proper nouns in the southern Western Desert languages. (Glass and Hackett 1970:49; Goddard 1985:59; Eckert and Hudson 1988:151). Examples are rare in the texts as the contexts for its use are limited. Example 5.11 indicates that the Locative allomorph -ta suffixed to common nominals (§4.4.1) is also used for free pronouns.

- 5.10 *Ngayu-la-rni-ya murti pawu-rnu*
 1sg-LOC-1sgO-3plS knee burn-PST
 They burnt me on the knee. [BRNS]
- 5.11 *Punpal-punpal-ja-nga-laju ngayu-n-ta-rtuka ngarri-ngu*
 heat-RDP-LOC-FOC-1plS 1sg-PL-LOC-EMPH lie-PST

² This word has widespread use for cup or pannikin extending across the Kimberley and as far east as Warlpiri speakers at Lajamanu. Its origin is not known.

mangkaja-yuru-ngulyu

shelter-SIM-CERT

In the very hot weather we lay with a shelter over us just like that one. [SWPY]

Allative -kutu

5.12 *Ngayu-rti-kutu junga yan-in.*

1sg-PL-ALL straight go-PRES

It's coming straight towards **us**. [NBK3:101]

Genitive -kurnu

5.13 *Ya-nu-yilapa ngayu-kurnu ya-nu tilpu wurna kuka-kutu.*

go-PST-then 1sg-POSS go-PST mother away meat-ALL

Then mine went, my mother went hunting for meat. [BRNS]

5.1.2 *palunya*

Wangkajunga, like the other northern Western Desert languages, has a free pronoun *palunya* which acts in many ways like a third person singular pronoun. The functions of third person pronouns are well described in Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990).

Some authors have listed a similar pronoun as third person singular. (Hansen and Hansen 1978:104 and Goddard's note about Trudinger 1985:59). The free pronoun *palunya* has some distributional differences that set it apart from the other free pronouns. For this reason it has been labelled as 'the Definite nominal' by Goddard (1985:59) and the 'chameleon pronoun' in Pitjantjatjara by Eckert and Hudson (1988:167). The stem of this pronoun in Wangkajunga, *palunya*, has the same form as the accusative form in Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara.

The third person pronoun *palunya* is like first and second person pronouns in being marked for Ergative-Absolutive case. It also has core and semantic case marking that is similar to the other free pronouns. The form *palunya* can be marked with core cases and also Ablative, Allative and Locative case and can perform the function of sentence modifier. In this function *palunya* is discussed in §10.6.4.

The plural suffix for the third person *palunya* is *-rti*. This is the same as the plural form for common nouns but differs slightly from the plural form for first and second person pronouns, which is commonly *-n* although the plural form *-rti* has also been recorded (example 5.12).

Table 5.3: Case and plural forms of the pronoun *palunya*

	Ergative	Absolutive	Dative	Locative
Singular	<i>palunya-lu</i>	<i>palunya</i>	<i>palunya-ku</i>	<i>palunya-la</i>
Plural	<i>palunya-rti-lu</i>	<i>palunya-rti</i>	<i>palunya-rti-ku</i>	<i>palunya-rti-la</i>

Lyons (1968) points out that the functions of third person pronouns are inherently different from those of first and second person.

The 'third' person is to be distinguished from the 'first' and 'second' persons in several respects. The speaker and hearer are necessarily present in the situation, whereas other persons and things to which reference is made may not only be absent from the utterance,

they may be left unidentified. This means that the category of third person may combine with such other categories as ‘definite’ or ‘indefinite’ and ‘proximate’ or ‘remote’ (1968:276).

In Wangkajunga the third person pronoun *palunya* is clearly distinguished from the first and second person personal pronouns. It is similar to the first and second person free pronouns in receiving the same marking for case and in sometimes being the single nominal referring to an argument. However the third person *palunya* is different from the first and second person free pronouns in that it functions like a determiner in marking a participant as definite and as a demonstrative in marking a participants’ proximity to the speaker (5.22). Unlike the first and second person pronouns, which only refer to human participants (except in special circumstances³), the third person *palunya* can refer to human, animal or inanimate participants. Also unlike the first and second person pronouns, the plural form of *palunya* is not always used. The form *palunya* can refer to a single participant or to several participants (see discussion and examples 5.19 and 5.21 below).

5.1.2.1 *palunya* case marking

The third person *palunya* engages in the Ergative-Absolutive system of case marking in the same way as the first and second person free pronouns. In example 5.14 *palunya* is the Subject argument of the verb *wanirnu* ‘cut’ and receives Ergative case. In this example *palunya* refers to several participants signalled by the plural suffix *-rti* and by the third person plural cross-referencing clitic *-ya*. In example 5.15 *palunya* is the Object argument of the verb *wanalpayi* and receives Absolutive case. In 5.16 *palunya* is a possessor and receives the Dative case. In this example it again refers to several referents, signalled by the cross-referencing plural Dative clitic *-janampa* and also by the plural suffix *-rti*. Example 5.17 has *palunya* suffixed by a semantic case, the genitive *-kurnu*, indicating the third person singular participant as the possessor of *yini* ‘proper name’.

- 5.14 *Wituka-lampaju-ya wani-rnun palunya-rti-rlu.*
 again-1plDAT-3plS cut-PST palunya-PL-ERG
 They would cut them out for us as well. [FLBD]
- 5.15 *Palunya-rna wanal-payi.*
 palunya-1sgS follow-CHAR
 I was always following that one. [SB]
- 5.16 *Wal maitbi-janampa jiriki jii palunya-rti-ku.*
 well(K) maybe-3plDAT bird DEM palunya-PL-DAT
 Well, that bird might belong to them. [SWPN]
- 5.17 *Nyukurni-janu-nguninji palunya-kurnu yini,*
 before-ABL-FOC palunya-POSS name
 It’s from a while ago really, that name of hers. [KNG]

5.1.2.2 *palunya* as the single nominal referring to an argument

In 5.18, and 5.14, *palunya* functions much like the English third person pronoun ‘they’. It refers to human participants and is the single nominal referring to the Subject argument

³ Animals who are beings in the Dreaming (§1.1) are referred to by personal pronouns.

of the verb *nintijunun* ‘showed’. In this example *palunya* has a plural suffix *-rti* and is marked with the Ergative case.

- 5.18 *Ninti-ju-nun-pa-lanyaju-ya, ninti-ma-nun, palunya-rti-lu*
 know-CAUS-PST-PA-3plO-3plS know-CAUS-PST palunya-PL-ERG
 They showed us, taught us. [FLBD]

5.1.2.3 *palunya* referring to a single or several participants

The third person *palunya* can refer to a single or several participants. In examples 5.14, 5.16 and 5.18 *palunya* refers to several participants and has the plural suffix *-rti*. *Palunya* is unmarked but is crossreferenced by the third person plural bound pronoun *-ya*. In example 5.19 *palunya* refers to several participants but doesn’t have the plural suffix. Number marking on this pronoun like number marking on common nominals is not compulsory. In 5.19 *palunya* modifies *jiji* ‘child’ and neither nominal has the plural suffix. Example 5.19 shows repetition of the third person plural bound pronoun *-ya*.

- 5.19 *Palunya-ya jiji ngalpu-rri-n-pa-ya tali-ngka.*
 palunya-3plS child play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS sandhill-LOC
 Those children are playing in the sandhills. [SWPM]

Palunya can be crossreferenced by singular, dual or plural bound pronouns. In example 5.14 and 5.18 above it is crossreferenced by the third person plural bound pronoun *-ya* ‘they’. In example 5.15 it refers to a single referent, the Object argument of the verb *wanalpayi* ‘follow’. The bound pronouns for single arguments in the third person are marked by zero (§6.2) so there is no cross-referencing. In example 5.20 *palunya* refers to the two participants signalled by the cross-referencing clitic *-pula* and the pair suffix *-rarra* on the relationship term *-nyupa* ‘spouse’. The two nominals *palunya* and *nyupararra* ‘husband and wife’ refer to the same participant. Example 5.21 has *palunya* as a modifier of a non-Subject argument of the verb *yungu* ‘give’. In this example *palunya* refers to an inanimate participant, the stew.

- 5.20 *Malaku-janampa-pula kati-ngu kuka palunya-lu nyupa-rarra-rlu*
 return-3plDAT-3dlS take-PST meat palunya-ERG spouse-PAIR-ERG
jiji-ku.
 child-DAT.
 Those two took the meat back for their kids. [NBK3:116]
- 5.21 *ka supper jupjup palunya-lanyaju-ya yu-ngu*
 CONJ supper stew palunya-1plexO-3plS give-PST
 And they gave us supper, that stew. [KNG]

5.1.2.4 *palunya* as a marker of definiteness

Unlike the other personal pronouns, *palunya* is more commonly found as the modifier of another pronoun, a common noun or a demonstrative. In this use it functions as a marker of definiteness. In example 5.19 *palunya* refers to the animate participants *jiji* ‘children’ and identifies them as the children mentioned earlier in the text. In example 5.22 *palunya* and the demonstrative *jii* are referring to the same participant, the bush foods. The use of *palunya* and the demonstrative *jii* identifies the bush foods as the ones distant in time from the speaker and the particular foods that the speaker used to eat.

- 5.22 *Palunya jii-nga pu-ngku-la-lanyaju-ya yirrayi-yunga-ma*
palunya DEM-FOC hit-FUT-SER-1plexO-3plS collect-give-PSTHB
nyukurni-nga pujmana-nga.
 before-FOC bushman-FOC
 That's the bush food from the old days, that's what they used to hunt and collect
 for us. [BRNS]

The third person pronoun *palunya* helps keep track of participants within texts. In the following extract a group of women who sewed flourbag dresses are initially named individually. Later in the text they are referred to using *palunya* and the clitic pronoun to indicate that it was the same women who knew how to cut out the dresses. *Palunya* is used again, later on in the text, to refer to the same women.

- 5.23 *Flourbag mintim-ma-nun-pa-lampaju-ya. Yu-ngun-pa lanyaju-ya*
flourbag sew-CAUS-PST-PA-1plexDAT-3plS give-PST-PA 1plexO-3plS
wirram-ju-nun turrirti Purlta-rlu Jukuja-lu Yurrpara-rlu
wear-CAUS-PST dress name-ERG name-ERG name-ERG
Milykinyungu-rlu an Nyinyanga-rlu karlki-ya miitu
name-ERG CONJ(K) name-ERG other-3plS dead
Wituka-lampaju-ya wani-nun palunya-rti-rlu ka-laju
also-1plDAT-3plS cut-PST palunya-PL-ERG CONJ-1plexS
mintima-nun-pa Nintiju-nun-pa-lanyaju-ya ninti-ma-nun palunya-rti-rlu
sew-PST-PA teach-PST-PA-1plO-3plS know-CAUS-PST palunya-PL-ERG
 They sewed flour bags for us. Purlta, Jukuja, Yurrpara, Milykinyungu, Nyinyanga
 and others who have died, gave us the dresses to wear. They are also the ones who
 cut them out. And we made them. They taught us. Those same ones taught us.
 [FLBD]

5.2 Demonstratives

Wangkajunga has four demonstratives *ngaa*, *jii*, *nyarra* and *yangka*. These function as spatial deictics.

spatial deictics are items which specify the spatial location of an object relative to the location of the speaker or the addressee (Anderson and Keenan 1985:259)

Yangka has some distributional and functional differences from the first three demonstratives. It refers to situations in the discourse rather than in space or time and is discussed in §5.2.6. The three demonstratives *ngaa*, *jii* and *nyarra* operate as both pronominal and modifying demonstratives. *Ngaa*, *jii* and *nyarra* indicate the position of the referent in respect to the speaker and the hearer. The syntax of demonstratives is described in §10.1.2.5. The conversation in example 5.24 illustrates the use of the three demonstratives.

- 5.24 **Speaker 1**
Ngana-kura ngaa
 What-POSS this
 Whose is this?

Speaker 2

Jii-kura, nyarra-ku tuju-ku
 that-POSS yonder-DAT woman-DAT
 Hers [that one's], that woman over there. [NBK2:88]

Demonstratives can refer to both animate and inanimate entities. Among the following illustrative examples demonstratives refer to human entities; 5.25 and 5.28, a bird; 5.29, a vegetable food; 5.26, a burrow; 5.37, a handbag; 5.36 and a named water hole; 5.27.

The Locative case marker can be added to these demonstratives to indicate a place in respect to the speaker and the hearer. They are *ngaangka jiingka* and *nyarrangka* with the approximate English meanings 'here', 'there' and 'yonder'. Table 5.4 sets out the forms and approximate English meanings of the pronominal and Locative demonstratives.

Table 5.4: Demonstrative forms and meanings

Singular		Dual		Plural		-ngka endings	
<i>ngaa</i>	this	<i>ngaa-kujarra</i>	these two	<i>ngaan(pa)</i> <i>ngaarti</i>	these	<i>ngaangka</i>	here
<i>jii</i>	that	<i>jiikujarra</i>	those two	<i>jiin(pa)</i>	those	<i>jiingka</i>	there
<i>nyarra</i>	over there	<i>nyarra-kujarra</i>	those two over there	<i>nyarran(pa)</i> <i>nyarrarti</i>	those over there	<i>nyarra-ngka</i>	yonder
<i>yangka</i>	that known			<i>yangkan(pa)</i>	those known		

The demonstratives *ngaa* and *jii* are rare examples of monosyllabic words in Wangkajunga. Almost all other words in the language consist of at least two syllables (§2.3). The lengthened vowels found in these two words are also not common in the language (§2.1.2).

The plural inflection for demonstratives, like the plural inflection for personal pronouns has alternative forms. The most common form is *-n* as illustrated in example 5.25. A smaller number of examples are inflected by *-rti*, the plural form for common nominals. This is illustrated in example 5.26. Although the examples are from different speakers, both the speakers are of similar age and come from adjacent areas of the Great Sandy Desert.

5.25 *Kati-ku-pula-jananya yu-ngku jiji ngaan-n-pa.*
 take-FUT-3dIS-3plO give-FUT children DEM-PL-PA.
 They will bring it back to give to these children. [SWPN1]

5.26 *Nguwa-ngka kanin-kanin-jarra-ya ngari-nyin ngaan-rti mangarri.*
 ground-LOC below-RDP-ASST-3plS lie-PRES DEM-PL food
 These vegetables grow under the ground. [DS]

Ngaan, *jii* and *nyarra* can function as modifying and pronominal demonstratives. These functions are illustrated in examples 5.27 and 5.28.

Modifying demonstrative

- 5.27 *Ngaa junu Kunyun.*
 DEM waterhole place.name
 This waterhole is Kunyun. [KRRLI]

Pronominal demonstrative

- 5.28 *Nyarra-pula yan-in-pa-wu!*
 DEM-3dIS go-PRES-PA-VOC
 Those two are coming! [SWPM]

5.2.1 Demonstratives and case marking

Wangkajunga demonstratives are marked for an Ergative-Absolutive system of case marking in the same way as common nominals. The following examples show the demonstrative forms with the core case endings for Ergative, Absolutive and Dative, the semantic case Ablative and the derivational case Having.

Ergative -lu

In example 5.29 *ngaalu* is the Subject argument of the serial verb construction *kangu wirrupungu* brought and threw away and has Ergative case. The demonstrative *ngaa* in this example refers to an illustration of an eagle.

- 5.29 *Ngaa-lu ka-ngu wirru-pu-ngu.*
 DEM-ERG carry-PST throw-hit-PST
 This one carried it and threw it away. [SWPN3]

Absolutive -Ø

Example 5.30 has the demonstrative *ngaa* in Absolutive case as the intransitive Subject argument of the verb *ngarangu* ‘stood’.

- 5.30 *Ngaa-Ø kalyu ngara-ngu yilu*
 DEM-ABS water stand-PST sick
 This waterhole dried up. [SWP4]

Absolutive -Ø

In example 5.31 the demonstrative *ngaa* has Absolutive case and is the Object argument of the verb *nyangu* ‘saw’. In this example the speaker is referring to an illustration of waterholes.

- 5.31 *Nya-ngu-laju ngaa, ngaapi, Yulpu.*
 see-PST-1plexS DEM-Ø HES place.name
 We saw this one, um, Yulpu. [KNG]

Dative -ku

The demonstrative *ngaaku* in example 5.32 has Dative case marking it as the possessor of a mother, the *turru jarlu* ‘big bird’. The demonstrative *ngaa* in this example refers to a small drawing of a bird.

- 5.32 *Turru jarlu yipi-ra ngaa-ku.*
 bird big mother-3sgDAT DEM-DAT
 The big bird is this one's mother. [SWPN]

Ablative -janu

- 5.33 *Ngana-lu ma-nu openimma-nku-ra-pinti ngaa-janu*
 INDEF-ERG get-PST open-IRR-UNR-THING DEM-ABL
 Who got the key from this spot? [NBK2:86]

Having -kurlu

In this example the demonstrative is modifying the nominal *warta* 'stick' and receives the Ergative case and the derivational case Having in agreement with *warta*.

- 5.34 *Kurrurn-ma-laju warta-kurlu-rlu ngaa-kurlu-rlu.*
 scrape out-PSTIMP-1plexS stick-HAV-ERG DEM-HAV-ERG
 We were cleaning it out with this stick. [SWPMi]

5.2.2 Demonstratives and deictic function

The three demonstratives *ngaa*, *jii* and *nyarra* perform deictic functions in that their meaning relates directly to the situation of the utterance. The distance indicated by the demonstratives is not fixed but relative to the position of the speaker and the context of the utterance. Visibility does not appear to be relevant.

5.2.2.1 *ngaa* 'this', 'these'

Ngaa is used to refer to something or someone relatively close to the speaker. The following examples indicate the types of situations for its use. In example 5.35 the speaker is holding something in her hand.

- 5.35 *Ngana-kura ngaa*
 INDEF-POSS DEM?
 Whose is this? [NBK2:55]

In example 5.36 the speaker is describing her own illustration, which is close to her, although the bush food being described is actually many miles away.

- 5.36 *Ngaa mangarri pulurntari.*
 DEM plant.food bush.food.type
 This plant food is '*pulurntari*'. [DS]

5.2.2.2 *jii* 'that', 'those'

The demonstrative *jii* refers to something or someone further from the speaker. In example 5.36 the speaker is asking for an object closer to the hearer. In example 5.38 the object is equally distant from both the speaker and hearer.

- 5.37 *Yuwa-ra jii.*
 give-3sgDAT DEM
 Give that to her. [NBK2:42]

- 5.38 *Nya-ngu-n jii kartal-pa*
 see-PST-2sgS DEM hole-PA
 Did you look in that hole? [NBK2:71]

5.2.2.3 *nyarra* ‘that’, ‘those’

The demonstrative *nyarra* is used to indicate a person or object at some distance from both the speaker and the hearer. The choice of this demonstrative also relates to the proximity of the entity to the speaker, but as the distance in this case could be beyond hearing distance it also relates to the distance from the hearer. The distance is relative and could in fact be a matter of feet or of kilometres. The next example 5.39 repeated from 5.24 illustrates the relevant distances indicated by the three demonstratives *ngaa*, *jii* and *nyarra*. In example 5.40 the children who have been waiting back at the camp see their parents in the distance returning from a hunting trip. The child speaker uses *nyarra* to refer to the position of the parents in relation to herself.

5.39 Speaker 1

Ngana-kura ngaa
 what-POSS this
 Whose is this?

Speaker 2

Jii-kura, nyarra-ku tuju-ku
 that-POSS yonder-DAT woman-DAT
 Hers [that one’s], that woman over there. [NBK2:88]

- 5.40 *Nyarra-ya tirri-rri-ngu-ni-pula yirna kamu yipi.*
 DEM-3plS climb.down-INCH-PST-DIR-3dIS dad CONJ mum
 There’s dad and mum coming down this way. [DHN]

In their discussion of deixis, Anderson and Keenan (1985:296) note that spatial references commonly serve as the basis for a variety of metaphorical extensions into other domains. The meaning of nearness or distance from the speaker is extended to the metaphor of time in the following Wangkajunga sentence. The speaker has used *ngaa* ‘close to the speaker’ to refer to a time close to the speaker, that is, ‘now’. (In this example the word *jirntu* ‘sun’ is also used metaphorically for the concept ‘day’. The need for the names of days is a recent innovation in the language now under the influence of English and non-Indigenous culture.)

- 5.41 *Ngana ngaa jirntu*
 what DEM sun
 What day is it today? [NBK2:78]

5.2.3 Demonstratives with presentative function

Demonstratives with a presentative function by claiming the existence of a participant rather than pointing to its location, are rare in Wangkajunga. Example 5.42 is a possible illustration. In this example the speaker was referring to an approaching car that had been a previous point of discussion.

- 5.42 *Ngaa jii-nga redpala*
 DEM DEM-FOC red (K)
 This is that red one. [NBK3]

5.2.4 Other functions of *jii*

5.2.4.1 *jii* as a topic marker

The demonstrative *jii* occurs more frequently than either *ngaa* or *nyarra*. This demonstrative is also used to make a further point about something that is not physically present but is currently the topic of a conversation.

- 5.43 *Yirna-rlu-nga-lampaju waka-la kuka-nga jii-nga.*
 man-ERG-FOC-1pIDAT spear-NARPST meat-FOC that-FOC
 Our old man would spear that meat. [DHN]

5.2.4.2 *jii* as a sentence modifier

The words *jiijanu* and *jiina* are frequently used in narratives. The first has the demonstrative form followed by the Ablative suffix and the second the demonstrative form followed by a borrowing *-na* ‘now’ from Kriol. I have translated them ‘after that’ and ‘like that’. They normally occur sentence initially and appear to have scope over the whole sentence. I have labelled them ‘sentence modifiers’ (§10.6.4). Examples 5.44 and 5.45 illustrate this use.

- 5.44 *Jiijanu-laju malaku-rri-ngu.*
 SENTMOD-1pIS return-INCH-PST
 And after that, we came back. [KNG]
- 5.45 *Jiina-ya wanin-ma.*
 SENTMOD-3pIS cut-PSTIMP
 Like that, they were cutting it. [KNG]

5.2.5 Locative demonstratives

Wangkajunga demonstratives are commonly suffixed with the *-ngka* Locative case suffix to refer to a place rather than an object. The forms are *ngaangka* ‘here’, referring to a place near the speaker, *jiingka* ‘there’ referring to a place mid-distant from the speaker and *nyarrangka* ‘yonder’ referring to a place at some distance from the speaker. With the exception of the Ablative suffix *-janu*, illustrated in example 5.46, the Locative demonstratives are not marked with further nominal suffixes. Although it is possible for a Wangkajunga nominal to carry two semantic case suffixes (§6.1.5) the marking of *jiingka* ‘from there’ is rare. Double case marking with two semantic cases is commonly the Genitive suffix *-kurnu* followed by another semantic case marker.

- 5.46 *Jii-ngka-janu yung-in diesel*
 DEM-LOC-ABL give-PRES diesel
 He sells diesel from there. [KNG]

The locative demonstratives have the same functions as the pronominal demonstratives. Example 5.47 has a locative demonstrative as a sentence modifier in a similar function as the pronominal demonstrative in example 5.45.

- 5.47 *Jii-ngka-na-laju ngarri-ngu.*
 DEM-LOC-FOC-1plexS lay-PST
 We stayed right there. [KNG]

The locative demonstratives can also have both modifying and adjunct functions. In example 5.48 *ngaangka* modifies *kartalja* ‘hole’ and refers to a static location. Example 5.49 illustrates *ngaangka* as locative adjunct of the verb *jarrpangu* ‘enter’ locating the endpoint of the activity.

- 5.48 *Nyang-in-pa-rna ngaa-ngka kartal-ja.*
 look-PRES-PA-1sgS DEM-LOC burrow-LOC
 I’m looking in this burrow. [NBK2:72]

- 5.49 *Ngaa-ngka jarrpa-ngu!*
 DEM-LOC enter-PST
 It went in here! [NBK2:72]

As locative adjuncts the locative demonstratives can locate an event; example 5.50 and 5.52, an Object; example 5.51 and a Subject; example 5.53. In example 5.50 the waterhole is represented by an illustration and the illustration is close to the speaker.

- 5.50 *Tuju kamu puntu nyupa-rarra-pula ngaa-ngka nyin-in-pa*
 woman CONJ man spouse-PAIR-3dlS DEM-LOC stay-PRES-PA
jumu kinti
 waterhole close
 A woman and her husband are staying here close to a waterhole. [CLTLS]
- 5.51 *Nyarra-ngka-rna palipu-ngu*
 DEM-LOC-1sgS find-PST
 I found it over there (near the new bridge). [NBK2:56]
- 5.52 *Paka-rnu-rna mara-rnu jii-ngka-ngulyu*
 get.up-PST-1sgS crawl-PST DEM-LOC-CERT
 I started to crawl there! [PNTGS]
- 5.53 *Kulyakanyi-nin-pa-ya jii-ngka-rtuka*
 wait-PRES-PA-3plS DEM-LOC-EMPH
 They **are** waiting there! [NBK2:57]

5.2.6 *Yangka* ‘that known’

The fourth demonstrative *yangka* refers backwards, or forwards, in discourse to something that the speaker expects that the hearer will know about but which is not present. It has a phoric rather than deictic function. The referent could be a person, a meat food, an event, a particular time or a place. The syntax of *yangka* is discussed in §11.1. This is a widespread form (§5.6).

I have recorded *yangka* and *yanka* and *yanga* by the same speaker and have treated them all as the same word. These various forms are illustrated in the examples below. Example 5.54 has the form *yangka*, 5.57 has the form *yanka* and example 5.55 has *yanga*. Valiquette (1993:450) says that both *yangka* and *yanka* are found in Kukatja and that *yanka* is used by some of the older speakers.

- 5.54 *Lungkurta yangka kuka yangka jampijin winkuma-nyu*
 small skink DEM game DEM possum winkuma-REP
Lungkurta, that meat. That possum, ‘winkuma’ they say, [SWPN]
- 5.55 *An mirrka-laju yanga ngalkun-ma jirilypaja.*
 CONJ food-1plexS DEM eat-PSTIMP plant.food
 And we used to eat vegetables, that ‘jirilypaja’. [BRNS]

The demonstrative *yangka* commonly occurs without any suffixing. Example 5.56 is a rare example of this demonstrative inflected for Dative case in agreement with the other nominals of the clause. In this example *yangka* occurs with another demonstrative *jii* ‘that’. Example 5.57 has *yangka* marked with the Locative case marker *-la*. This form of the Locative case marker is also found on personal pronouns (see example 5.10).

- 5.56 *Ngulu-rri-ngu-rna-ra wirta-ku jii-ku yangka-ku*
 fright-INCH-PST-1sgS-3sgDAT dog-DAT DEM-DAT DEM-DAT
Mindirardi-janu-ku pajal-payi-ku.
 place name-ABL-DAT bite-CHAR-DAT
 I was frightened of that dog, the vicious one from Mindirardi. [NBK3:29]
- 5.57 *Yanka-la-ya martawarra-ngka yurru-yan-in-pa.*
 DEM-LOC-3plS river-LOC slip-go-PRES-PA
 They are sliding on the ones on the riverbank. [SWPMi]

Yangka is frequently followed by the suffix *-ngula*. This adds a further specification to the referent. I have translated this as ‘which’ or ‘who’.

- 5.58 *Yangka-ngula-npula ngurra ngarr-in-pa.*
 DEM-REL-2dlS home stay-PRES-PA
 the house which you two are staying in. [NBK2:196]
- 5.59 *Michael-ku, yangka-ngula-wu ngaa-ngka roadhouse-ngutu*
 name-DAT DEM-REL-VOC DEM-LOC roadhouse-ABL
 It’s Michael’s, the one who is here behind the roadhouse. [KNG]

This demonstrative is common in informal speech and also in informal recordings of descriptions of plants and animals. In this use it is often accompanied by the hesitation words *ngapi* or *nganayi* (§5.5). In example 5.62 the speaker uses both *yangka* and ‘you know’.

- 5.60 *Wama yangka ngapi ngana-rna waja-lku wama-nyu.*
 nectar DEM HES INDEF-1sgS say-FUT nectar-REP
 Nectar, you know, um, what will I say, ‘wama’ they call it! [BRNS]
- 5.61 *Ngapi-rna waja-lku mirrka yangka nganayi jinjiwirrily.*
 HES-1sgS say-FUT plant.food DEM HES plant name
 Uh, what will I say, you know, um, ‘jinjiwirrily’. [SWPM]
- 5.62 *Purlturrpungu-mal-pa-n warta-ngka warta-ngka you.know*
 thread-FUTIMP-PA-2sgS stick-LOC stick-LOC you.know

yangka you.know
 DEM you.know
 You'll be threading it on a stick, on a stick, you know, you know the one
 [PHOTOS]

5.3 Interrogative pronouns

Wangkajunga has a group of pronouns that are used as question words. Some of these are used as indefinite pronouns. As question words they occur sentence initially and as indefinite pronouns they occur elsewhere in the sentence.

5.3.1 *ngana* 'what'

The question words *ngana* 'what', *wanja* 'where', *jaatu* 'where', and *nyangula* 'when' belong to the nominal class in Wangkajunga. They take the same suffixes as common nominals and typically occur at the beginning of the clause. Example 5.64 shows that the indefinite nominal *ngana* can also follow a topicalised nominal phrase. These interrogative pronouns are used for both animate and inanimate entities. The first example, 5.63, illustrates the use of *ngana* 'what' with a human entity and 5.64 with a meat food. The interrogative pronoun *ngana* with case suffixes are the basis of a number of common questions in Wangkajunga. This is illustrated by examples 5.63 to 5.67. These examples were recorded during conversations.

- 5.63 *Ngana-kujupa Spider, Jukuja,*
 INDEF-ANOTH name name
 Who else? Spider, Jukuja [KNG]
- 5.64 *Ngaa wilura-kujupa ngana kuka-munta*
 DEM east-ANOTH INDEF meat-DUB
 This other one in the east. What food is it? [SWPN]
- 5.65 *Ngana-kura ngaa*
 INDEF-POSS DEM
 Whose is this? [NBK2:55]
- 5.66 *Ngana-janu-n*
 INDEF-ABL-2sgS
 What's wrong with you? [NBK2]
- 5.67 *Ngana-kurlu-lu-rna-ngku ma-nku*
 INDEF-HAV-ERG-1sgS-2sgDAT get-FUT
 With what shall I get it for you? [NBK3:57]

5.3.2 *wanja, jaatu* 'where'

The interrogative forms *wanja* and *jaatu* 'where' are both used by older speakers. Both forms take the same case endings. There is some regional difference in their use by younger speakers. The form *wanja* is very common amongst Wangkajunga speakers in Fitzroy Crossing and the Wangkatjunga Community. The form *jaatu* is very common amongst Kukatja speakers at Wirrimanu Community. These examples with *jaatu* are from a mature speaker in Fitzroy Crossing. Examples 5.68 and 5.69 illustrate the use of *jaatu* and

5.70 to 5.73 illustrate the use of *wanja*. Both *jaatu* and *wanja* can refer to static locations as well as to the end point of a movement. Example 5.70 is repeated from 5.9. The last example 5.73 illustrates a common form used with the direction verb *ya* ‘go’. This is a familiar greeting in Wangkajunga. Question words such as *wanja* are typically the first word of the question.

- 5.68 *Jaatu ya-nu Nyuju*
 WH go-PST name
 Where has Nyuju gone? [NBK3:56]
- 5.69 *Jaatu-kutu-la yan-in-pa*
 WH-ALL-1plS go-PRES-PA
 Where are we going? [NBK2:143]
- 5.70 *Wanja-ju ngayu-ku kartaku*
 WH-1sgDAT 1sg-DAT mug
 Where’s **my** mug? [NBK2]
- 5.71 *Wanja-nguru-nta japi-rnu*
 WH-ABL-2sgO ask-PST
 Why did he ask you? [NBK2:115]
- 5.72 *Wanja-ngka-n palipu-ngu*
 WH-LOC-2sgS find-PST
 Where did you find it? [NBK2:56]
- 5.73 *Wanja-tu-n yan-in-pa*
 WH-tu⁴-2sgS go-PRES-PA
 Where are you going?

5.3.3 *nyangula* ‘when’

Example 5.74 illustrates the use of the interrogative pronoun *nyangula* ‘when’. This interrogative pronoun also occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- 5.74 *Nyangula-n warinkati-ngu*
 WH-2sgS arrive-PST
 When did you arrive? [NBK2:24]

5.4 Indefinite pronouns

5.4.1 *ngana* ‘someone’

The interrogative pronoun *ngana* is also used to signal an unknown participant with the approximate meaning of the English ‘someone’, ‘something’ or ‘somehow’. When *ngana* is used as an indefinite pronoun it is more likely to occur after the beginning of the clause as in example 5.75 and 5.76. In example 5.75 *nganalu* refers to a human Subject. In example 5.76 the speaker is intentionally vague about the exact nature of the message that arrived because it contained sensitive information. She uses the indefinite pronoun *ngana* as well as the very general nominal *wangka* ‘word’ to refer to the message. Example 5.77 has the indefinite pronoun referring to an event.

⁴ It is possible that *-tu* is related to the *-kutu* form of the allative.

- 5.75 *Watpala-ra ngana-lu ninti-lku.*
European-3sgDAT INDEF-ERG show-FUT
Someone will show it to the European. [PHOTOS]
- 5.76 *ngana warinkati-ngu-ju wangka yiya-nu-ju wangka*
INDEF arrive-PST-1sgDAT word send-PST-1sgDAT word
someone, a word⁵ came for me, someone sent a word for me, [DHN]
- 5.77 *Palya-rri-ngu-rna ngana*
well-INCH-PST-1sgS INDEF
I got better somehow. [DHN]

5.4.2 *maarra* ‘somewhere’

Wangkajunga also has an indefinite nominal *maarra* with the approximate English meaning ‘somewhere’. Examples 5.78 and 5.79 illustrate its use in texts.

- 5.78 *Maarra-nyu tuju ya-nu.*
somewhere-REP woman go-PST
The woman went somewhere, they say. [SWPN]
- 5.79 *pina kakarra-kujupa yulparrira pina maarra*
far east-ANOTH south far somewhere
another one a long way off to the East, South a long way somewhere, [KNG]

5.5 Whatsaname

Wangkajunga speakers use two words that are the equivalent of English ‘whatsaname’ or ‘thingy’ when they can’t think of a word. These are *ngapi* and *nganayi*. They are used frequently in texts and conversations. These forms usually occur before a pause and are then followed by the sought after nominal. Occasionally the ‘whatsaname’ word is used instead of the common nominal as in example 5.82. The hesitation word is also sometimes followed by the expression *ngana-rna wajalku?* ‘what will I say?’

The hesitation words can refer to animate and inanimate entities. There appear to be equal uses of both forms. The *nganayi* form has the same function in Walmajarri (Richards and Hudson 1990) and Warlpiri (O’Shannessy pers. comm. 2002) and the *ngapi* form in Nyangumarta (Sharp 1998). Both of these hesitation words can be suffixed by nominal case and derivational suffixes. Example 5.81 has both forms suffixed by the Ergative case marker *-lu*.

- 5.80 *Kujarra-lanyaju-pula kartiya-tu kati-ngu Barry-lu, ngapi-lu, Michael*
two-1plexO-3dIS European-ERG take-PST name-ERG HES-ERG name
Two took us, Europeans, Barry and whatsisname, Michael. [KNG]
- 5.81 *Kalyu-lu jii-lu kutukutupunga-ma ngapi-lu kalyu-lu*
water-ERG DEM-ERG thunder-PSTIMP HES-ERG water-ERG

⁵ This expression is used when someone receives news of the death of a relative.

jila-lu ngana-rna waja-lku Kurtal-ju.
 waterhole-ERG INDEF-1sgS say-FUT name-ERG
 The waterhole was thundering, what's name waterhole, what shall I say, Kurtal.
 [DHN]

- 5.82 *Nganayi-janu-laju ya-nu.*
 HES-ABL-1plexS go-PST
 We went from what's name. [DHN]

5.6 Comparison of deictic forms

In this section I have tabulated the free pronoun stem forms of the four northern Western Desert languages and three southern Western Desert languages (Table 5.6 below). I have added the same forms for four northern Marrngu and Ngumbin languages as a comparison. The final table, (Table 5.8) sets out the demonstrative stem forms of the same languages. The languages are listed geographically in a roughly north to south order. The tables highlight three main groups but with some overlapping. The Western Desert language Pintupi has features of the northern and southern Western Desert groups.

5.6.1 Comparison of free pronouns

Table 5.5 is a reconstruction of proto-Pama-Nyungan free pronoun forms taken from Bower (2001:252). The non-Western Desert languages and the southern Western Desert languages have retained more of the PPN forms than the northern group of Western Desert languages. The northern Western Desert group of languages has taken the PPN forms as the basis of many of the bound pronouns and the free pronouns are a reduced group of innovative forms.

Table 5.5: Proto Pama-Nyungan reconstructed pronouns

		First person	Second person	Third masculine	Third feminine
Singular	ERG	*ngay-DHu	*ngin-tu	*NHulu	*NHantu
	NOM	*ngay	*ngin	*NHu, *ngu	*NHan
	ACC	*nganha	*ngin-nha	*nhunha	*nhana
	DAT	*ngatyu	*ngin+GEN	*nhu+GEN	*nhan+GEN
Dual	NOM	*ngali	*NHuNpalV	*pula	
Plural	NOM	*ngana	*NHurra	*THana	

The core case marking of free pronouns is a feature that divides the northern Western Desert languages from Pintupi and the southern Western Desert languages (§4.8.1.2). The northern Western Desert languages, like their non-western Desert neighbours, Warlpiri, Jaru, Walmajarri and Nyangumarta, mark free pronouns according to an Ergative Absolutive system. Free pronouns in Pintupi are similarly marked according to an Ergative–Absolutive system but in this language the Absolutive is marked with *-nya* and *-nga*. In the southern Western Desert languages free pronouns are marked by an Nominative-Accusative system. In this system free pronouns as transitive subjects and intransitive subjects are marked alike by zero and free pronouns as transitive objects are marked by *-nga* or *-nya*. In Ngaanyatjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara the Nominative–Accusative form of the first person

singular free pronoun is *ngayulu* (Table 5.6). This is the same form as the Ergative marked first person singular in the northern Western Desert languages.

5.6.1.1 Shared Western Desert forms

All the Western Desert languages under discussion have the first person singular form *ngayu* or *ngayulu*. They have no reflex of PPN Ergative *ngay-DHu. The second person singular form *nyuntu* is also shared by all the Western Desert languages except for the most southern language Gugada, which has generalised the southern PPN *NHurra to singular.

Table 5.6: Free personal pronouns for Western Desert and four northern neighbours

Language	First person	Second person	Third person
Non-Western Desert			
Warlpiri	<i>ngaju</i> <i>ngalijara/ngajarra</i> <i>ngalipa/nganimpa</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyumpala/nyuntujarra</i> <i>nyurrurla</i>	<i>nyanungu</i> <i>nyanungujarra</i> <i>nyangurra</i>
Jaru	<i>ngaju</i> <i>ngali/ngaja</i> <i>ngalipa/nganampa</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyunpula</i> <i>nyurra/nyurrara</i>	<i>nyantu</i> <i>nyanpula</i> <i>nyantu</i>
Walmajarri	<i>ngaju</i> <i>ngalijarra/ngajarra</i> <i>ngalimpa/nganampa</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyurrajarra</i> <i>nyurrawarnti</i>	<i>nyantu</i> <i>nyantujarra</i> <i>nyantuwarnti</i>
Nyangumarta	<i>ngaju</i> <i>ngali/ngalaya</i> <i>nganyjurru/nganarna</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyumpula</i> <i>nyurra</i>	<i>paliny</i> <i>pulany</i> <i>jana</i>
Northern Western Desert			
Yulparija	<i>ngayu</i> <i>ngayukujarra</i> <i>nayurti</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyuntukujarra</i> <i>nyunturti</i>	<i>palunya</i>
Wangkajunga	<i>ngayu</i> <i>ngayukujarra</i> <i>ngayun/ngayurti</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyuntukujarra</i> <i>nyuntun</i>	<i>palunya</i>
Kukatja	<i>ngayu</i> <i>ngayukujarra</i> <i>ngayun</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyuntukujarra</i> <i>nyuntun</i>	<i>paluru</i>
Manyjilyjarra	<i>ngayu</i> <i>ngayukujarra</i> <i>ngayunpa/ngayurtin</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyuntukujarra</i> <i>nyuntunpa/nyunturtin/nyurrartin</i>	<i>palu/palunya</i>
Pintupi	<i>ngayu</i> <i>ngayun</i>	<i>nyuntu/nyurra</i> <i>nyuntun/nyurran</i>	<i>palunya</i> <i>palunyan</i>

Language	First person	Second person	Third person
Southern Western Desert			
Ngaanyatjarra	<i>ngayulu, nganku</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>	
Pitjantjatjarra	<i>ngayulu</i> <i>ngali</i> <i>nganarna</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyupali</i> <i>nyurra</i>	<i>palura</i> <i>pula</i> <i>jana</i>
Yankuntjara	<i>ngayulu</i> <i>ngali</i> <i>nganarna</i>	<i>nyuntu</i> <i>nyupali</i> <i>nyurra</i>	<i>paluru</i> <i>pula</i> <i>jana</i>
Gugada	<i>ngayu</i> <i>ngali</i> <i>ngalikujarra</i> <i>nganarna</i>	<i>nyurra</i> <i>nyurrakujarra</i> no data	<i>palu</i> <i>palukujarra</i> <i>jana</i>

The southern Western Desert languages, Yankuntjara and Pitjantjatjarra, have a more elaborate system of free pronouns than the northern Western Desert group and have retained some of the PPN forms as stems of the modern free forms, for example *ngay-* first person singular, *ngali* first person dual and *ngana-* first person plural. The second person plural PPN form *NHurra, common to the southern Western Desert languages, is also still found in Pintupi, and Manyjilyjarra.

A third person singular root *palu* is common in the Western Desert group. Gugada and Manyjilyjarra have *palu*, Pitjantjatjarra and Yankuntjara have *palura*, Kukatja has *paluru* and Pintupi, Manyjilyjarra and Wangkajunga have *palunya*. The southern language Ngaanyatjarra also has the form *palunya*. However Glass and Hackett (1970:50) argue that there is evidence for grouping *palunya* with the demonstratives rather than free pronouns in Ngaanyatjarra.

5.6.1.2 Northern Western Desert – Yulparija, Wangkajunga, Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra

All the languages in this group have generalised *ngayu* to the stem for first person and *nyuntu* as the stem for second person. The dual is then formed by the addition of *kujarra* ‘two’ that is also the free form word for the numeral ‘two’. The plural is formed by the addition of the *-rti* which is the plural used for common nominals or *-n* the plural form on demonstratives. Yulparija has the *-rti* plural form on first and second person and Kukatja has the *-n* plural form. Wangkajunga and Manyjilyjarra use both the *-rti* and *-n* plural inflections. Only one language, Manyjilyjarra, has the PPN second person plural root *nyurra*.

This group of languages has the most complex system of bound pronouns (§6.2.7). It is the bound pronouns in this group that retain some of the PPN forms. For example; the second and third person dual forms of bound pronouns in Wangkajunga have *pula* as the stem and the second person plural forms have *nyurra* as the stem. These comparisons are described in detail in §6.2.7.

It appears that in the northern group of Western Desert languages the conservative sets of free pronouns have been taken on as bound forms and the free pronouns are an innovation with a much-reduced set of forms.

5.6.1.3 Pintupi

The central Western Desert language Pintupi shares the reduced free pronoun system of the northern Western Desert languages except that it, like Manyjilyjarra, also has the *nyurra* form for the second person. Pintupi also has the *-n* plural inflection on *palunya* rather than the common noun plural *-rti*.

5.6.1.4 Northern non-Western Desert Warlpiri, Jaru, Walmajarri and Nyangumarta

The languages of this group all have *ngaju* as the first person singular and *nyuntu* as the second person singular. This entire group has the *nyurra* form as the second person plural and Walmajarri also has *nyurra* as the stem of second person dual. The first syllable of the third person pronoun *nyan-* is the same for Warlpiri, Walmajarri and Jaru.

Nyangumarta has three separate forms for the third person two of them cognate with the PPN *pula, third person dual and *THana, third person plural. The first syllables of the singular and dual forms are similar to the third singular and dual forms of the third person pronouns in the southern Western Desert languages. The third person plural in Nyangumarta is the same form *jana* as the third person plural in the southern Western Desert languages.

5.6.1.5 The pronouns of Warnman

Warnman is a Western Desert language that is geographically and grammatically very close to Wangkajunga. A full description of the language is not yet available. The free pronouns of this language are remarkably different not only from geographically close languages such as Manyjilyjarra and Wangkajunga but also all the Western Desert languages. The Table 5.7 below is repeated from chapter one and taken from Sharp and Thieberger (1992:111). The dual forms of these pronouns are suffixed by *-kujarra* in the same way as the northern Western Desert languages

Table 5.7: Warnman independent pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>parra</i>	<i>parrakujarra</i>	<i>parrawarta</i>
2	<i>parrangku</i>	<i>parrangkukujarra</i>	<i>parrangkuwarta</i>

Demonstratives are used to mark third person.

Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>palawanin</i>	<i>palawaninkujarra</i>	<i>palawaninwarta</i>

5.6.2 Comparison of demonstratives

Table 5.8 sets out the demonstrative forms for the Western Desert languages and four of their northern non-Western Desert neighbours.

The northern Western Desert languages are grouped together by their shared demonstratives stems *ngaa*, *jii* and *nyarra*. Pintupi shares two of these forms but shares a third form with *pala* with the southern Western Desert languages. Kukatja groups with Pintupi in also using the *pala* form. Kukatja uses this form as well as the *jii* demonstrative.

Kukatja also groups with Pintupi in the use of the *-tja* form of the Locative on demonstratives although it shares the *-ngka* form on common nominals with the other northern Western Desert languages. Kukatja is like Pintupi, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara in using this *-tja* form of the Locative on demonstratives. The *-la* and *-ngka* forms fluctuate in Ngaanyatjarra (Glass and Hackett 1970:50). The *-tja* form of the Locative is included in the name of the language Kukatja.

The *nyarra* ‘yonder’ demonstrative groups all Western Desert languages with Nyangumarta.

The *pala* ‘that’, *panya* ‘you know the one’ and *palu* ‘third person plural’ forms could be cognates of a possible previous set of demonstratives **pa-lu* Ergative, *pa* Absolutive, **pa-la* ‘Locative’ and **pa-nya* Accusative.

The *yangka* demonstrative is widespread. Wangkajunga, Kukatja and Manyjilyjarra of the northern Western Desert share this form with Walmajarri and Warlpiri. I have no data for the equivalent of *yangka* for Yulparija.

Table 5.8: Demonstrative forms in Western Desert and four northern neighbours

	this/here	that/there	that/yonder	you know the one
Non-Western Desert				
Warlpiri	<i>nyampu</i> <i>nyampu-rla</i>		<i>yinya</i> <i>yinya-rla</i>	<i>yangka</i>
Jaru	<i>nyawa/murla/u</i>		<i>nyila/jala/u</i>	<i>jangu</i>
Walmajarri	<i>minyarti</i> <i>minyayi-rla</i>	<i>murlarti</i> <i>murla</i>	<i>nyana, nyanarti</i> <i>nyanyayi-rla</i>	<i>yangkarti, yangka</i>
Nyangumarta	<i>nyungu</i> <i>nyarni</i>	<i>pala</i> <i>palarri</i>	<i>ngurnungu</i> <i>ngurnarri</i>	<i>nyarra</i> <i>palajun/yakajun</i> <i>ngurnila</i>
Northern Western Desert				
Yulparija	<i>ngaa</i> <i>ngaangka</i>	<i>jii</i> <i>jiingka</i>	<i>nyarra</i> <i>nyarrangka</i>	
Wangkajunga	<i>ngaa</i> <i>ngaangka</i>	<i>jii</i> <i>jiingka</i>	<i>nyarra</i> <i>nyarrangka</i>	<i>yangka</i> <i>yangkala</i>
Kukatja	<i>ngaa</i> <i>ngaatja</i>	<i>jii, pala</i> <i>tjiitja, palatja</i>	<i>nyarra</i> <i>nyarratja</i>	<i>yangka</i>
Manyjilyjarra	<i>ngaa</i>	<i>jii</i>	<i>nyarra</i>	<i>yangka</i>
	<i>ngaangka</i>	<i>jiingka</i>	<i>nyarrangka</i>	
Pintupi	<i>ngaa</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>nyarra</i>	
	<i>ngaatja/</i> <i>ngaatjanya</i>	<i>palatja/</i> <i>palatjanya</i>	<i>nyarratja/</i> <i>nyarratjanya</i>	

	this/here	that/there	that/yonder	you know the one
Southern Western Desert				
Ngaanyatjarra	<i>ngaa</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>nyarra, tjii</i>	<i>palunya</i>
Pitjantjatjarra	<i>nyanga, nyangan nyangatja</i>	<i>pala, palan palatja</i>	<i>nyarra, nyarran nyarratja</i>	<i>panya panyatja</i>
Yankuntjarra	<i>nyanga ngangatja</i>	<i>pala palatja</i>	<i>nyarra nyarratja</i>	<i>panya panyatja</i>
Gugada	<i>nyanga</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>nyarra</i>	<i>panya</i>

5.6.2.1 Demonstratives in Western Desert language names

The demonstrative forms for ‘this’ are features of the names of a number of groups in the southern Western Desert. The names are translated as ‘the one having [*ngaatja*] for this’. Some of these names are listed below. Douglas’ 1964 list for the same names is added in brackets. The rough territorial positions for each of the names are also from Douglas (1964:3). The *tjarra* suffix is the Having suffix in the southern Western Desert languages. (The abbreviation ACC is used for Accusative in this table.)

Nгаа-tja-tjarra East of Warburton Range to Rawlinson Range
DEM-LOC-HAV
(Ngaatja)

Nгаа-nya-tjarra Warburton Range to Jigalong
DEM-ACC-HAV
(Ngaanya)

Nyanga-nya-tjarra Cundeelee to Mt. Margaret
DEM-ACC-HAV
(Nyanganya)

Nyanga-tja-tjarra Ooldea to Ernabella
DEM-LOC-HAV
(Nyangatja)

6 *Agreement and cross-referencing*

Introduction

There are three main strategies that languages use to show how words are combined to carry out various functions in sentences. The first strategy is to arrange and order the words in predictable ways so that the order carries meaning. The second strategy is to mark the participants with morphemes that indicate their function. This is case marking. The third strategy is to mark an element other than the participant. An element that has a particular relationship with a participant is coded with information about the relationship and the participant. This is cross-referencing.

Wangkajunga makes almost no use of the first strategy. The language has an extremely free word order (§12.1). It is the second and third strategies, case-marking and cross-referencing, that are highly developed in this language. The language has detailed patterns of case marking and a complex system of cross-referencing. In Chapter 4 I discussed the use of case to relate nominal arguments to their predicates. In this chapter I discuss the use of case to mark agreement.

I begin the discussion of agreement and cross-referencing with the section on agreement by case marking. Sections 6.1.1, 6.1.2, 6.1.3 and 6.1.4 outline the various ways case marking is used to mark agreement between participants. In §6.1.5 I discuss how the system of case marking in Wangkajunga results in many examples of ‘double-case’. In §6.2 I describe the complex system of bound pronouns which cross reference grammatical arguments and animate participants in Wangkajunga. In §6.2.7 I compare the bound pronoun systems of Wangkajunga and the other northern Western Desert languages with the southern Western Desert languages. These are then compared with four traditional northern neighbours of the Western Desert, Nyangumarta, Walmajarri, Jaru and Warlpiri.

6.1 Case marking and agreement

Two nominals in a Wangkajunga clause can be marked with the same case. The case marker signals a relationship between the two. This is so whether the nominals are adjacent or separated by other constituents. The relationship between the two case marked words may be between an argument and an attribute in one of the following ways:

- modifier and modified
- generic and specific
- part and whole
- agent and instrument

- agent and manner
- agent and activity

Case marking can also relate entities in a list. Case marking also relates the timing of activities to the participants who undertake the activities. I discuss each of these in turn.

6.1.1 The use of case-markers to mark an argument and an attribute

Case markers in Wangkajunga can be used to indicate the relationship of an attribute to a participant or an attribute to a sentence.

6.1.1.1 Modifier and a thing modified

In its function as a marker of agreement a case suffix marks a nominal and its modifier. In Wangkajunga attributive nominals and the nominals they modify are both marked for case. Example 6.1 has an example of agreement marked by grammatical case. In this example the Ergative case marker *-lu* on the nominal *tuju* ‘woman’ and the number *kujarra* ‘two’ marks the relation between the arguments and the predicate *pungin-pa* ‘hitting’. This function of case was described in §4.4.1. The Ergative case marker in this example also shows that the two nominals are related. It indicates that *kujarra* is a modifier of *tuju*. Example 6.2 has an example with a semantic case in an attributive function. In this example the Locative case suffixes *-ngka* and its allomorph *-ja* are used as predicates to relate the argument *yupalykujupa* ‘the other three’ to the location. The Locative case also marks agreement between the nominal *wungku* ‘windbreak’ and its attribute *parnparn* ‘warm’.

- 6.1 *Tuju-lu kujarra-lu-pula parnaparnti pung-in-pa.*
 woman-ERG two-ERG-3dIS goanna hit-PRES-PA
 Two women are killing a goanna. [CLTLS]
- 6.2 *Yupal-kujupa-ya, ngarr-in-pa-ya parnparn-ja wungku-ngka.*
 few-ANOTH-3pLS lie-PRES-PA-3pLS warm-LOC windbreak-LOC
 The other three are lying in the warm windbreak. [SWPN1]

6.1.1.2 Generic and specific nominals

A small group of nominals in Wangkajunga have a very specific modifying function. The relationship is between a generic nominal and a specified type of that nominal (§4.1.1). The case marker on the generic and on the specific nominal links the two together. Example 6.3 has two examples of case in this function. The locative case marker *-ngka* on *junungka* ‘permanent waterhole’ indicates that it is a particular type of water supply denoted by the generic nominal *kalyungka* ‘water’. The locative marker on *jiingka* ‘there’ indicates that it modifies both the generic *kalyungka* and the specific *junungka*.

- 6.3 *Tali-ngka-ya ngarri-ngu kalyu-ngka jii-ngka junu-ngka.*
 sandhill-LOC-3pLS lie-PST water-LOC DEM-LOC waterhole-LOC
 They slept in the sandhills, at that permanent waterhole. [DHN]

6.1.1.3 Part-whole relationships

Case agreement can indicate the part of a participant that is used to carry out the action depicted by the verb. In example 6.4 the body part *jinalu* ‘foot’ has Ergative Case in

agreement with the Subject of the verb *kantula* ‘stamp’. Example 6.5 illustrates the part-whole relationship of a physical feature of the environment. The locative case marker on *tali* ‘sandhill’ and *pilyurrpilyurr* ‘steep slope’ indicates that the slope is a part of the sandhill. The Locative case on all three nominals *tali* sandhill, *pilyurrpilyurr* ‘steep slope’ and *jii* ‘that’ also acts as a predicate relating the location of the three nominals to the event of sliding.

6.4 *Wana-la-laju* *yirрпи-la* *ka-laju* *kantu-la* *jina-lu*
 follow-NARPST-1plexS enter-NARPST CONJ-1plexS stamp-NARPST foot-ERG
 We would follow it and poke at it and we would stamp on [the nest] with our feet. [DHN]

6.5 *Ngarlpu-rri-n-pa-ya* *turruruyan-in-pa* *kanin-jarra* *jii-ngka*
 play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS slide-PRES-PA down-ASST DEM-LOC
tali-ngka *pilyurr-pilyurr-ja*.
 sandhill-LOC slope-RDP-LOC
 They are playing at sliding down the steep slope of that sandhill. [SWPMi]

6.1.1.4 Agent and manner

Wangkajunga has a small class of nominals that are used as secondary predicates to modify an argument, normally the Subject argument, of the main verb (§10.6.3). The manner nominal shows how the Subject carries out the action. Case agreement indicates the relationship between the manner nominal and the Subject argument. In example 6.6 the Subject is indicated by the cross-referencing third person singular pronoun *-ya* and the manner nominal *murrani* ‘continually’ has the Ergative case marker *-lu*. The case marking indicates that it is the Subject of the verb *ngalkunin* ‘eat’ that has the attribute of *murrani* ‘always eating’. In example 6.7 the manner nominal has Absolutive marking in agreement with the Subject of the verb *wirrjala* ‘run’. The manner nominals are listed below and in §10.6.3.

kawalya ‘quietly’
murrani ‘continually’
wala ‘quickly’
yaru ‘slowly’
yurra ‘thirstily’

6.6 *Nga-lku-nin-pa-ya* *murrani-lu*
 eat-FUT-PRES-PA-3plS continually-ERG
 They are forever eating. [NBK2:53]

6.7 *Wala-ø* *wirrja-la-rni* *ngayu-kutu*
 quickly-ABS run-IMP-1sgACS 1sg-ALL
 Quickly, run this way, towards me. [NBK2:170]

6.1.1.5 Agent and activity

Active nominals are similar to manner nominals in that they are also secondary predicates but unlike manner nominals can be predicated of arguments other than the Subject (§10.6.3). These nominals describe an activity of the argument and the case marking relates the activity to the argument. In example 6.8 the hunting activity *wartiltu* has Ergative case to indicate that it is the Subject argument of *ngurrinma* ‘searching’ that

is engaged in the hunting activity. In this example the Subject is cross referenced by the third person plural clitic *-ya*. In example 6.9 the active nominal *yumu* ‘merely’ has Absolutive marking in agreement with the Object argument ‘the rations’ of the verb *manama* ‘getting’. Other active nominals are listed below and at 10.6.3.1.

<i>ngarlpu</i>	‘play’
<i>ngulu</i>	‘afraid’
<i>nguripa</i>	‘ignorant’
<i>wanka</i>	‘alive’
<i>wartilpa</i>	‘hunting’
<i>yurlta</i>	‘being in camp’

- 6.8 *Ngurrin-ma-lampaju-ya wartil-tu.*
 search-PSTIMP-1plexDAT-3plS hunting-ERG
 They would be hunting it for us. [DHN]

- 6.9 *Ration-pa-laju-janampa mana-ma yumu-ø mangarri witiz*
 ration-PA-1plexS-3plDAT get-PST merely-ABS food breakfast.cereal(K)
 We were only getting breakfast cereal for our rations. [FLBD]

6.1.1.6 Agent and instrument

Case agreement marks the relationship of an argument and the instrument used by an argument. In example 6.10 the verb *nyangin* ‘look for’ has an Ergative marked Subject. The instrument *tilikurlu* ‘with a torch’ is also marked with the Ergative case to indicate that it is the Subject that is using the torch.

- 6.10 *Puntu-ku-ra nyang-in-pa tili-kurlu-lu.*
 man-DAT-3sgDAT look-PRES-PA light-HAV-ERG
 He is looking for the man with a torch. [NBK2]

6.1.1.7 Discontinuous nominals

Case agreement between two nominals marked by the same case is the same whether the two nominals are together or separate. In example 6.9 *ngaakujarralu* ‘these two’ has Ergative case to show that it is an attribute of the Ergative Subject *nyupararralu* ‘husband and wife’ of the serial verb construction *junu yanu* ‘leave’. The cross-referencing in this example also indicates that the two Ergative marked nominals have the same referent. The bound pronominal clitic *-pula* refers to a third person dual Subject.

- 6.11 *Ngaa-kujarra-lu-jananya-pula nyupa-rarra-lu ju-nu ya-nu.*
 DEM-DUAL-ERG-3plO-3dIS spouse-PAIR-ERG put-PST go-PST
 These two, the parents, left them. [SWPM]

6.1.2 The use of case agreement to mark items in a list

Case agreement can be used to indicate the relationship of a number of items in a list. In example 6.12 the Having suffix *-kurlu* on the nominals *wana* ‘digging stick’, *kurlata* ‘spear’ and *marapaku* ‘spear thrower’ indicates that the Subject *yirna* ‘man’ is in possession of a number of items. The Having suffix on the Hesitation word *ngapi* indicates that it was another of the items in the list that the speaker was trying to recall.

- 6.12 *Wana-kurlu kurlata-kurlu ngapi-kurlu marapaku-kurlu*
 digging stick-HAV spear-HAV HES-HAV spear-thrower-HAV
yirna yan-in
 man go-PRES
 The man is going along with a digging stick, a spear, and, um, a spear thrower.
 [SWPN1]

6.1.3 The use of case agreement to mark time

Case agreement can be used to mark the time that the participant carried out an activity or that the participant was affected by the activity.

6.1.3.1 Sentence modifiers - *palunyajanu*, *palunyangka*

The sentence modifiers *palunyajanu* ‘after that’ and *palunyangka* ‘at that time’ are marked for case to add information about the time that the Subject carried out the action (§10.6.4). Example 6.13 has an intransitive verb *yarra* and the sentence modifier *palunyajanu* ‘after that’ has zero case marking in agreement with the Subject argument. In example 6.14 the verbs of the serial verb construction (§9.6) *pungkula yungama* ‘killing for us’ have an Ergative Subject and the sentence modifier is marked with the Ergative case.

- 6.13 *Palunyajanu-ø ya-rra-laju ngaa munuka-munuka warrpa*
 after.that-ABS go-NARPST-1plexS DEM different-RDP nectar
 After that we’d go for this quite different nectar. [DHN]
- 6.14 *Palunyajanu-lu wanapari minyawu waltaki pu-ngku-la-lanyaju-ya*
 after.that-ERG dingo cat fox hit-IRR-SER-1plexO-3plS
yunga-ma.
 give-PSTIMP
 After that they used to kill dingoes, cats and foxes for us. [DHN]

6.1.3.2 Common nominals and active nominals

Case marking can relate two nominals to indicate a temporal relationship. This is not uncommon in Wangkajunga and also occurs in Walmajarri (Eirlys Richards, pers. comm., 1998). In example 6.15 the active nominal *wurna* has Ergative case to indicate when the Subject of the verb *yiyanin* ‘send’ will carry out the action. Example 6.16 has a common nominal in the Absolutive case marked by zero. The zero marking is in agreement with the Object argument of the verb *pawurnu* ‘burn’ to show that it was when she was a child that she was burnt. As the speaker of this example is an adult we infer that the action happened when she was a child.

- 6.15 *Ngaa-rna-ngku wurna-lu yiya-nin-pa.*
 DEM-1sgS-2sgDAT away-ERG send-PRES-PA
 I’ll be sending this to you when I’m away. [KNG]
- 6.16 *Jiji-rni pawu-rnu kunyarr-ju-rni-ya*
 child-1sgO burn-PST dogs-ERG-1sgO-3plS
 I got burnt as a child, the dogs did it to me. [BRNS]

6.1.4 The use of case to mark a relationship between an argument and a clause

Case agreement also indicates the relation of a clause to an argument of a main clause. This is discussed in §11.1. An example is included as 6.17. In this example the nominalised verb has Ergative case in agreement with the Subject argument of the main verb *wanarnu* ‘chased’.

- 6.17 *Wana-rnu-ngku-ya* *paja-nja-n-tu* *waru-ngka-rna* *nyina-nja-nu*.
 follow-PST-REFL-3plS bite-NOMZ-PL-ERG fire-LOC-1sgS sit-NOMZ-TREL
 The ones who had been biting, chased each other while I sat by the fire. [BRNS]

6.1.5 Double case marking

The rich system of case marking in Wangkajunga results in examples of nominals carrying two case suffixes. Double case marking in Wangkajunga occurs in the combinations set out below.

semantic case + derivational case	example 6.18
semantic case + semantic case	examples 6.19, 6.20
semantic case + grammatical case	example 6.22, 6.23
derivational case + grammatical case	example 6.21

There are no examples of a grammatical case occurring first.

6.1.5.1 Double case with derivational case

A derivational case can be attached to another, usually semantic, case suffix. This is illustrated in examples 6.18 where the semantic case suffix *-ja* is followed by the Temporal derivational case *-puru*. The semantic case acts as a predicate for the event of *nyinatin* ‘sitting down’ and the timing of the event *kurtun* ‘sleep’. The derivational suffix *-puru* makes a temporal nominal of the locative marked *kurtunjapuru* ‘at bedtime’ literally ‘at sleep time’.

- 6.18 *Ngaa-yila-janampa* *jirntirr-jirntirr* *yan-in* *nyina-ti-n* *kurtun-ja-puru*
 DEM-then-3plDAT Willy.Wagtail go-PRES sit-ACT-PRES sleep-LOC-TEMP
 Then this Willy Wagtail is coming and sitting down with them at bedtime.
 [SWPN1]

6.1.5.2 Double case with the genitive suffix

This is the most common occurrence of double case marking. The possessor nominal has the genitive case suffix *-kurnu* as well as another semantic case. Example 6.19 has the Genitive followed by a Locative and example 6.20 has the Genitive followed by the Ablative. In example 6.20 the Genitive suffix relates the possessor nominal *puluku* ‘cattle’ and the possessed nominal *karrukarru* ‘road’. The locative case suffix *-ngka* acts as a predicate for the event *nyinama* ‘staying or camping’ and the location *karrukarrungka pulukukurnungka* the ‘cattle road’ or ‘Canning Stock Route’. The locative case in this example also marks the agreement between the two nominals *karrukarru* ‘road’ and *pulukukurnu* ‘cattle’. The function of the two cases in 6.20 is similar. The Genitive case relates the possessor *Yijayi* to the possessed *ngurra* ‘home’. The Ablative case predicates the event *nyinama* ‘were staying’ and the location *Yijayikurnu ngurra* ‘Yijayi’s home’. The

Ablative case marker also has an agreement function relating the two nominals *Yijayi* and *ngurra*.

- 6.19 *Wiya-laju karru-karru-ngka kinti nyina-ma puluku-kurnu-ngka.*
 NEG-1plexS road-RDP-LOC close sit-PSTHB cattle-POSS-LOC
 We weren't camping close to the Canning Stock Route [lit. road belonging to cattle]. [DHN]
- 6.20 *Yijayi-kurnu-nguru ngurra-nguru yangka-ngula-npula nyina-ma.*
 name-POSS-ABL home-ABL DEM-REL-2dIS stay-PSTIMP
 from Yijayi's home, the one where you two were staying. [KNG]

6.1.5.3 Double case with the HAVING suffix

In example 6.21 the derivational case suffix *-kurlu* is followed by the grammatical case, the Dative *-ku*. The perception verb *nyawa* 'see' has alternative Ergative-Absolutive and Ergative-Dative arguments (§7.1.1.3). The derivational case *kurlu* is a predicate meaning 'having' which takes *kuka* as one argument, and an understood 'they' as the other argument, the possessors of the cooked meat. The Dative suffix *-ku* is a grammatical case relating the predicate *nyanginpa* 'looking' to the Dative argument 'the ones with lots of meat'. The Dative case marker also marks *laltu* as an attribute of *kuka*.

- 6.21 *Nyarra-ya-pulampa nyang-in-pa kuka-kurlu-ku laltu-kurlu-ku.*
 DEM-3plS-2dIDAT look-PRES-PA meat-HAV-DAT lots-HAV-DAT
 They are looking that way for those two with the cooked meat. [SWPM]

6.1.5.4 Double case and active nominals

In example 6.22 the active nominal *yurlta* has the Ablative case. It is then marked with the Dative as a secondary predicate of the Dative marked argument *jiji* 'child'. The Dative case marker also has an agreement function relating the two nominals *jiji* and *yurltajanu* 'from the camp'.

- 6.22 *Malaku-janampa-pula kati-n-pa jiji-ku yurlta-janu-ku*
 return-3plDAT-3dIS take-PRES-PA child-DAT in.camp-ABL-DAT
 They are taking it back for the children from the camp. [SWPM1]

6.1.5.5 A single nominal with double case

In example 6.23 the nominal *ngumpa* shade has a semantic case suffix *-nguru* 'from'. The Ergative suffix on *ngumpanguru* 'from the shade' links this nominal with the Subject argument of the verb *pakarnu* 'got up'.

- 6.23 *Ngumpa-nguru-lu paka-rnu-pula,*
 shade-ABL-ERG get.up-PST-3dIS
 The two of them got up and left the shade. [SWPM1]

6.2 Agreement by cross-referencing bound pronominal clitics

Wangkajunga has a complex system of compulsory cross-referencing bound pronominal clitics. Besides cross-referencing Subject, Object and Dative grammatical functions (§10.5) the Wangkajunga bound pronouns also cross-reference human locations, human companions and human sources. Animacy plays a major role in determining which

participants are cross-referenced in Wangkajunga (§6.2.1.4, §6.2.1.5). They distinguish first, second and third person and singular, dual and plural number. There is a distinction between inclusive, including the hearer, and exclusive, excluding the hearer, in the non-singular first person. The exclusive morpheme is *-ju*. The third person singular is unmarked in both the Subject and Object bound pronouns. The bound pronouns can be attached to any class of word.

In this section I discuss the cross-referencing function of the bound pronouns. I begin the section by introducing each set of bound pronouns. I then briefly discuss their position in a Wangkajunga clause but leave a fuller discussion of this to §10.1.1. The section also contains an outline of the morphemic structure of the bound pronouns and the general rules for the ordering of the bound pronouns within the cluster. In the final section I make some comparisons with the cross-referencing systems in the neighbouring non-Western Desert languages, the northern Western Desert languages and the southern Western Desert languages.

6.2.1 The Wangkajunga bound pronouns

6.2.1.1 Subject bound pronouns

Wangkajunga has a set of bound pronouns that cross-reference the Subject argument. (See §10.5 for evidence for grammatical functions in Wangkajunga) Table 6.1 illustrates the set of Wangkajunga Subject bound pronouns.

Table 6.1: Wangkajunga Subject bound pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>-rna</i>	<i>-li</i> (incl.) <i>-liju</i> (excl.)	<i>-la</i> (incl.) <i>-laju</i> (excl.)
2	<i>-n</i>	<i>-npula</i>	<i>-nyurra</i>
3	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-pula</i>	<i>-ya</i>

Examples 6.24 to 6.26 illustrate the use of the Subject bound pronouns. Example 6.24 has an intransitive verb *yanin* ‘go’ with a first person singular Subject bound pronoun *-rna* in agreement with the first person singular free pronoun *ngayu*. In example 6.25 the third person dual Subject bound pronoun *-pula* cross-references *nyupararra* ‘the parents’ the Subject argument of the transitive verb *kanyinin* ‘have’. Example 6.26 has the coordinated Subject argument of the ditransitive serial verb construction *mintimarnu yungunypa* ‘sewed for’ cross-referenced by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* ‘they’.

- 6.24 *Yan-in-pa-rna ngurra-kutu ngayu-ø.*
go-PRES-PA-1sgS home-ALL 1sg-ø
I am going home. [NBK2]
- 6.25 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa nyupa-rarra-lu larrku-ngka.*
child-PL-3pIO-3dIS have-PRES-PA spouse-PAIR-ERG valley-LOC
The parents have their children in the valley between the sandhills. [SWPN]
- 6.26 *Purlta-lu Jukuja-lu Yurpara-lu Milykinyungu-lu*
name-ERG name-ERG name-ERG name-ERG

mint-ma-rnu-lanyaju-ya *yu-ngun-pa*
 sew (K)-CAUS-PST-1plexO-3plS give-PST-PA
 Purita, Jukuja, Yurpara, and Milykinyungu, made them for us. [FLBD]

Subject Bound Pronouns with the Imperative Form

First person Subject bound pronouns can be used with verbs in the imperative for giving orders or instructions (§8.3.1.1). In the first example the first person forms are used. I have translated these sentences with the English ‘let’s’.

6.27 *Karrpi-la-li-ngku*
 tie up-IMP-1dIS-REFL
 Let’s do up our seat belts! (lit. tie ourselves up) [NBK2:264]

Third person non-singular bound pronouns also occur with imperatives to cross-reference Subjects. In examples 6.28 and 6.29 the third person bound pronouns are performing the function of second person bound pronouns. This is common with imperatives in Wangkajunga. Use of third person number marking is common in the area. Warlpiri has third person pronouns with imperatives although in Warlpiri the form of the third person bound pronoun is *-lu*. The following sentences, 6.28 and 6.29 were offered as examples of instructions to be used in the Wangkajunga language programme at the community school.

6.28 *Paka-la-ya!*
 Get.up-IMP-3plS
 All of you stand up!/Everyone stand up!

6.29 *Ya-rra-ya* *ngurra-kutu.*
 go-IMP-3plS home-ALL
 Go home all of you!/Everyone go home!

Example 6.30 is a popular farewell. This is used for one person or a number of people. The example has a vocative ending typically used in this kind of expression (§2.1.1.8).

6.30 *Yana-ma-ya-wu!*
 go-IMPIMP-3plS-VOC
 Keep going!

6.2.1.2 Object bound pronouns

The cross-referencing clitics have another set of forms that cross-reference the Object argument of transitive verbs.

Table 6.2: Wangkajunga Object bound pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>-rni</i>	<i>-linya</i> (incl.) <i>-linyaju</i> (excl.)	<i>-lanya</i> (incl.) <i>-lanyaju</i> (excl.)
2	<i>-nta</i>	<i>-ntapula</i>	<i>-nyurranya</i>
3	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-pulanya</i>	<i>-jananya</i>

In the dual and plural forms these are made up of the Subject clitics plus an Object morpheme *-nya*. A similar form marks accusative case on proper nouns and free pronouns in the southern languages of the Western Desert (§4.8). The second person dual *-ntapula* does not have the *-nya* morpheme. A third person plural stem, *-jana*, is the stem of the bound pronouns for the Object, Dative, Allative and Ablative sets.

Examples 6.31 to 6.34 illustrate the use of the Object bound pronouns. Example 6.31 has the Object argument *ngayu* ‘me’ of the verb *pajarnu* ‘bite’ cross-referenced by the first person singular Object bound pronoun *-rni*. In example 6.32 which is repeated from example 6.25 the Object argument *jijirti* ‘children’ of the transitive verb *kanyinin* ‘have’ is cross-referenced by the third person plural Object bound pronoun *-jananya*. Example 6.33 has the ditransitive verb *yungu* ‘gave’. The recipient argument of *yungu* is cross-referenced by the third person plural Object bound pronoun *-jananya*. Example 6.34 has a serial verb construction *pungkula yungama* ‘killed for’. The recipient argument of the serial verb construction is cross-referenced by the first person plural exclusive bound pronoun *-lanyaju*.

- 6.31 *Pinga-lu-rni paja-rnu ngayu-ø.*
ant-ERG-1sgO bit-PST 1sg-ABS
An ant bit me. [NBK2]
- 6.32 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa nyupa-rarra-lu larrku-ngka.*
child-PL-3plO-3dIS have-PRES-PA spouse-PAIR-ERG valley-LOC
The parents have their children in the valley between the sandhills. [SWPN]
- 6.33 *Jiji-rti-rna-jananya gooseberry yu-ngu.*
child-PL-1sgS-3plO gooseberry give-PST
I gave the gooseberries to the children. [NBK2:161]
- 6.34 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka-ø pungkula*
mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3plS game-ABS hit-SER
yunga-ma bush tucker-ø.
give-PSTHB bush food-ABS
The mothers and fathers hunted bush foods and meat for us. [DHN]

6.2.1.3 Dative bound pronouns

Wangkajunga also cross-references Dative arguments with bound pronouns. The first person dual, third person dual and the plural forms of the Dative bound pronouns are formed by the addition of *-mpa* to the Subject form as a suffix or infix. The stem of the second person singular and dual bound pronouns in this set, *-ngku*, is homophonous with the reflexive bound pronoun (see §6.2.1.6). Table 6.3 charts the Dative bound pronouns.

Table 6.3: Wangkajunga Dative bound pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>-ju</i>	<i>-limpa</i> (incl.) <i>-limpaju</i> (excl.)	<i>-lampa</i> (incl.) <i>-lampaju</i> (excl.)
2	<i>-ngku</i>	<i>-ngku-pula</i>	<i>-nyurrampa</i>
3	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-pulampa</i>	<i>-janampa</i>

Examples 6.35 to 6.38 illustrate use of the Dative bound pronouns. In example 6.35 the purpose of the activity of ‘running’ *wirrjanin* is marked by the Dative case and cross-referenced by the third person singular Dative bound pronoun *-ra*. This example shows that inanimate arguments can be cross-referenced by Dative bound pronouns. In example 6.36 the non-Subject argument of the verb *ngurri* ‘searching’ is marked with the Dative case and cross-referenced with the third person singular Dative *-ra*. Example 6.37 has a transitive verb *katin* ‘taking’ with a recipient fargument *jijiku* marked with the Dative case and cross-referenced by the third person plural Dative bound pronoun *-janampa*. Example 6.38 illustrates another optionally ditransitive verb *mintimmarnu* ‘sew’ with the recipient argument cross-referenced by the first person plural exclusive Dative bound pronoun *-lampaju*.

- 6.35 *Tuju-ra wirrja-nin mirrka-ku talakutu-ku.*
 woman-3sgDAT run-PRES food-DAT mango-DAT
 The woman is running for a mango. [NBK2]
- 6.36 *Wirta-ra ngurri-nin-pa parnaparnti-ku.*
 dog-ERG-3sgDAT search-PRES-PA goanna-DAT
 The dog is searching for a goanna. [CLTLS]
- 6.37 *Malaku-janampa-pula jiji-ku kati-n-pa ngurra-kutu.*
 return-3plDAT-3dls child-DAT take-PRES-PA camp-ALL
 They are taking it back to camp for the children. [SWPM1]
- 6.38 *Turrirti-lampaju-ya mintim-ma-rnu station-ta nyukurni ngurra-ku.*
 dress-1plexDAT-3plS sew(K)-CAUS-PAST station-LOC before ignorant-DAT
 They made dresses for us, a long time ago on the station when we didn’t know much. [FLBD]

6.2.1.4 Accessory bound pronouns

Wangkajunga bound pronouns also cross-reference animate nominals denoting humans who are locations of the action of the verb or accompaniments to an argument of the verb. The animate place can have allative or locative case. I have labelled this set of bound pronouns Accessory (ACS). Table 6.4 charts the set of Accessory bound pronouns. These are the same forms as the Object bound pronouns with the exception of the third person singular *-lu*.

Table 6.4: Wangkajunga Accessory bound pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>-rni</i>	<i>-linya</i> (incl.) <i>-linyaju</i> (excl.)	<i>-lanya</i> (incl.) <i>-lanyaju</i> (excl.)
2	<i>-nta</i>	<i>-ntapula</i>	<i>-nyurranya</i>
3	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-pulanya</i>	<i>-jananya</i>

The first two examples 6.39 and 6.40 are used with the intransitive verb of motion *yanku* ‘go’. In example 6.39 the two members of the Subject argument cross-referenced by the second person dual Subject bound pronoun are moving towards the animate place, marked by the Allative case, the person named *Jukuja*. *Jukuja* is cross-referenced by the

third person singular Accessory bound pronoun *-lu*. In example 6.40 the first person singular Subject is proposing to move in the company of the animate ‘place’, Linyarri’s gang, *Linyarringurunpangka*, which has locative case. Example 6.41 has an example with the verb *nyina* ‘sit, stay’. The last example 6.42 has a serial verb construction with the transitive verbs *muntara wananma*, ‘grab at while following along’. The children are cross-referenced by the first person plural exclusive bound pronoun *-laju* and the mother is marked by the locative case and is cross-referenced by the third person singular Accessory bound pronoun *-lu*. The speaker has used two synonyms for mother, *yipi* and *tilpu*, both of which have the locative suffix *-ngka*. The word for ‘my’ *ngayukurnungka* also receives locative case.

- 6.39 *Ya-nku-lu-npula Jukuja-kutu.*
 go-FUT-3sgACS-2dIS name-ALL
 You two go to Jukuja. [NBK3:7]
- 6.40 *Ya-nku-rna-jananya Linyarri-ngurun-pa-ngka.*
 go-FUT-1sgS-3plACS name-GRP-PA-LOC
 I’m going with Linyarri’s gang. [NBK3:81]
- 6.41 *Nyina-ti-ngu-jananya jiji-paraku-ngka.*
 stay-ACT-PST-3plACS child-FEW-LOC
 It [the bird] stayed with the kids. [SWPN1]
- 6.42 *Muntara-laju-lu wanan-ma yipi-ngka tilpu-ngka*
 grab-1plexS-3sgACS follow-PSTHB mother-LOC mother-LOC
ngayu-kurnu-ngka.
 1sg-POSS-LOC
 We used to follow my mother and grab at her. [DHN]

Example 6.43 shows that the cross-referencing applies only to human animate companions and locations. A different construction with the Having suffix *-kurlu* is used for animal companions.

- 6.43 *Yan-in-pa wirta-kurlu.*
 go-PRES-PA dog-HAV
 She is going with a dog. [CLTLS]

6.2.1.5 Ablative bound pronouns

Wangkajunga has another set of bound pronoun forms which cross-reference predominantly human animate sources. The form of this set of bound pronouns is similar to that of the Dative bound pronoun set with the addition of *-ra*. The form *-ra* is the third person singular in the Dative set of bound pronouns. The distinction between inclusive and exclusive hearer has been neutralised. The first person non-singular forms are homophonous with the Dative first person exclusive bound pronouns with the addition of *-ra*. The third person singular Ablative bound pronoun is a combination of the third person singular Accessory bound pronoun *-lu* and the third person singular Dative *-ra*. I have no examples of the second person plural or third person dual. My attempts to elicit forms by using Manyjilyjarra equivalents were unsuccessful. The distinction between dual and plural in second person may also becoming neutralised. Examples from the set of Ablative bound pronouns are not common in the texts.

Table 6.5: Wangkajunga Ablative bound pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>-jura</i>	<i>-limpajura</i>	<i>lampajura</i>
2	<i>-ngkura</i>	<i>-ngkurapula</i>	
3	<i>-lura</i>	<i>-janampalura</i>	

Examples 6.44 to 6.49 illustrate the use of the Ablative bound pronouns. In example 6.44 the Sydney people are marked by the Ablative case *-janu* and cross-referenced by the third person plural Ablative bound pronoun *-janampalura*. The first person singular Subject bound pronoun *-rna* cross-references the Subject argument who is moving away from the animate place, the Sydney people. Example 6.45 has the animate place as the potential source of anger and this is cross-referenced by the first person singular Ablative bound pronoun *-jura*. Example 6.46 has a nominal predicate *ngulu* ‘afraid’. The source of emotion in this example is firstly *kartiya* ‘Europeans’ and is unmarked. The speaker corrects herself and adds a Dative marked source *wayitpalaku* ‘of Europeans’. Example 6.47 has the members of the Subject argument of the transitive verb *yarra* ‘would go’ cross-referenced by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* and the person they leave cross-referenced by the first person singular Ablative bound pronoun *-jura*. Example 6.48 has the animate source cross-referenced by the first person plural Ablative bound pronoun *-limpajura*. Example 6.49 has a serial verb construction *wirrijarnu wayintarnu* ‘ran past’. The animate source, the two mothers, is cross-referenced by the second person dual Ablative bound pronoun *-ngkurapula*. These two are the place and the two children the entities moving from the place. These examples illustrate the similarity of the Ablative clitic pronouns to the Dative clitic pronouns.

Example 6.49 shows that dual Subject and dual Object can be cross-referenced in the same clause. Some Ngumbin languages such as Warlpiri block these types of expressions (Jane Simpson pers.comm., 2001).

- 6.44 *Ya-nu-rna-janampalura Sydney-janu*
 go-PST-1sgS-3plABL name-ABL
 I left those people from Sydney. [NBK3:86]
- 6.45 *Wiya-jura-n pika-rri-ku.*
 NEG-1sgABL-2sgS anger-INCH-FUT
 Don’t get angry with me. [NBK3:23]
- 6.46 *Ngulu-ngulu-pa-laju-ngkura kartiya, wayitpala-ku*
 afraid-RDP-PA-1plexS-2sgABL European Europeans-DAT
 We were afraid of you Europeans, of white people. [DHN]
- 6.47 *Wartil-pa-jura-ya ya-rra kuka-kutu.*
 hunt-PA-1sgABL-3plS go-NARPST meat-ALL
 They would go off and leave me to hunt meat. [DHM]
- 6.48 *Ya-nu-limpajura-ya Maureen, Karen, Jan.*
 go-PST-1dlABL-3plS name name name
 Maureen, Karen and Jan have left us (two). [NBK3:87]
- 6.49 *Jiji-kujarra-pula-pulampa yipi-kujarra-ku waja-rnu*
 child-DUAL-3dlS-3dlDAT mother-DUAL-DAT say-PST

Wirrja-rnu-liju-ngkurapula wayinta-rnu

run-PST-1dIS-2dLABL pass-PST

The two children said to their mothers, 'We ran past you!'. [NBK3:89]

Examples 6.50 and 6.51 have the same verbs *wirrjala* 'run' and *yanku* 'go', as the previous examples. These show that it is only human animate places that are cross-referenced by bound pronouns. Example 6.50 shows that movement away to avoid an inanimate place, the dust, is not cross-referenced in the pronominal clitics. Example 6.51 shows that movement away to avoid a non-human animate, the dog, is not cross-referenced by bound pronouns.

- 6.50 *Jiji-rti-ya wirrja-rnun junturl-jamarra wungku-kutu.*
child-PL-3pIS ran-PAST dust-AVOID windbreak-ALL

The children ran to the windbreak to get away from the dust. [NBK3]

- 6.51 *Maya-li ya-nku wirta-ngkamarra.*
far-1dIS go-FUT dog-AVOID

Let's go the long way around to avoid the dog. [HN]

6.2.1.6 Reflexive bound pronouns

Reflexive forms, where the Subject and Object refer to the same entity, are indicated by bound pronouns in Wangkajunga. The same bound pronouns are used for reciprocal as well as reflexive functions and are always attached at the same place as other bound pronouns. The reflexive bound pronoun *-ju* is identical to first person singular Dative and occurs in reflexive sentences with first person singular Subjects and Objects. The second bound pronoun *-ngku*, is identical to second person singular Dative and occurs in all reflexive and reciprocal sentences except for those with first person singular Subjects and Objects.

Wangkajunga shares these reflexive bound pronoun forms with the other languages of the north western group of Western Desert languages. Yulparija is the exception in this group with a reflexive form *-nyi*. Examples 6.52 and 6.53 illustrate the use of the two reflexive clitics in Wangkajunga.

- 6.52 *Kurrpi-nin-pa-rna-ju.*
sprinkle-PRES-PA-1sgS-REFL
I'm sprinkling myself. [NBK3]

- 6.53 *Warra-la-ngku-pula mina-ngka.*
cover-PSTHB-REFL-3dIS nest-LOC
Those two would cover themselves in the nest. [DHN]

The ordering of the reflexive in the bound pronoun cluster follows that of other pronominal clitics. If the Subject is first person, the reflexive follows the first person pronoun. If the Subject is second or third person the reflexive occurs first. This ordering is illustrated by the examples above and example 6.54 where the Subject is first person plural *-laju*.

- 6.54 *Wiya-laju-ngku wajimata-ma kalyu-kurlu-rlu.*
NEG-1pIS-REFL wash-PSTIMP water-HAV-ERG
We didn't wash ourselves with water. [DHN]

Reciprocal, rather than reflexive meaning is indicated by the context and by the meaning of individual verbs. The context of example 6.55 indicates that it should be translated as the English 'each other'.

- 6.55 *Wirta-rlu wana-rnu-ngku-ya paja-njan-tu.*
 dog-ERG follow-PAST-REFL-3plS bite-NOMZ-ERG
 The dogs chased each other to try and bite each other. [BRNS]

Reflexive and reciprocal are primarily used with transitive verbs with Ergative marked Subjects.

- 6.56 *Tuju-lu-ngku karrpi-rnu yilpi-kurlu-lu.*
 woman-ERG-REFL tie-PST belt-HAV-ERG
 The woman tied herself up with a seat belt. [NBK2:231]

Goddard (1985:64) and Eckert and Hudson (1988:158) note the use of reflexives with intransitive verbs in Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara respectively. Hudson (1978:69) also notes the use of the reflexive suffix *-nyanu* in intransitive sentences in Walmajarri. Attempts to elicit similar intransitive sentences with reflexive bound pronouns in Wangkajunga were unsuccessful. Example 6.57 is my informant's suggestion for 'I am talking to myself'. For the reflexive interpretation the nominal *kuju* 'one' must be included. The free pronoun is used for contrast (§5.1).

- 6.57 *Ngayu-rna wangka-ngun kuju.*
 1sg-1sgS talk-PST one
 I am talking to myself. [i.e. not to you] [NBK2:21]

Example 6.58 was unacceptable.

- 6.58 **Ya-nku-rna-ju*
 go-FUT-1sgS-1sgREFL
 I'm going by myself. [NBK3:116]

Examples 6.59 is an acceptable non-reflexive sentence with the verb *yanku* 'will go'.

- 6.59 *Ya-nku-rna-nta.*
 go-FUT-1sgS-2sgACS
 I'm going with you.

6.2.2 Position of pronominal clitic clusters

The pronominal clitic cluster is most commonly attached to the first word of the clause. This is illustrated in example 6.60. The first person plural exclusive Subject bound pronoun *-laju* is attached to the first word *ngayunpa* 'we'. The number and person of the bound pronoun *-laju* 'first person plural exclusive' agrees with the number and person of the free pronoun *ngayunpa* 'first person plural'.

- 6.60 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma,*
 1sg-PL-PA-1plexS in.camp stay-PSTHB
 We used to stay around the camp. [DHN]

It is also possible for the bound pronoun to follow the first constituent (§10.1.1) as in example 6.61. In this example the bound pronoun is attached to the second of the two similarly case marked nominals *yipilu mamalu* 'mothers and fathers'. This clause illustrates two bound pronouns the first person exclusive Object *-lanyaju* which indicates the person, number and grammatical function of the Object and the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* which cross-references *yipilu mamalu* 'mothers and fathers'. This example, 6.61, has the cross-referencing pattern of serial verb constructions with

yuwa ‘give’ discussed in §9.4.4. Example 6.62 has no cross-referencing because the Subject is third person singular which is not marked overtly by bound pronouns.

- 6.61 *Yipi-lu, mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka pungku-la yunga-ma.*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3plS game hit-SER give-PSTHB
 Our mothers and fathers used to hunt game for us. [DHN]
- 6.62 *Ya-nu kayili ngara-ngu junta-rnu.*
 go-PST north stand-PST stop-PST
 She went north and stood there. [SWPN]

In some uncommon cases the bound pronouns can occur clause medially after a verb (§10.1). In narratives the bound pronouns occasionally occur after each word of the clause. This occurs when the speaker is emphasising the length of a journey as illustrated in example 6.63. The final vowel of the bound pronoun in this example is lengthened to accentuate the distance.

- 6.63 *Palunyajanu-laju, Kurlku-ngka-laju nyarra-ngka-laju ya-nu-lajuuuuu*
 after.that-1plexS place.name-LOC-1plexS DEM-LOC-1plexS go-PST-1plexS
 After that, there in Kurlku, we went a long way. [KNG]

Bound pronouns are compulsory in Wangkajunga and clauses frequently occur without overt nominals. Bound pronouns occur in both nominal-headed (§10.2) and verb-headed clauses. It is not uncommon, particularly in informal conversations, for expressions to consist of one word, such as in the following example.

- 6.64 *Mintim-ma-nun-pa-lampaju-ya.*
 sew-CAUS-PST-PA-1plDAT-3plS
 They made them for us. [FLBD]

6.2.3 Composition of bound pronoun clitics

The composition of each clitic pronoun follows a predictable order. The first morpheme cross-references person and number. The second morpheme indicates grammatical function and the third excludes the hearer. The morpheme *-nya* signals Object function on proper nouns and pronouns in Pintupi and the southern Western Desert languages. The composition of a bound pronoun can be represented by the following:

person < number < case < exclusive

The bound pronouns below are examples of this order of morphemes.

<i>rna-ø</i>	first person singular-Subject
<i>li-ø-ju</i>	first person dual-Subject-exclusive
<i>la-nya-ju</i>	first person plural-Object-exclusive
<i>pula-mpa</i>	third person dual-Dative

The second person singular and dual clitics are morphemically less transparent and have an irregular order of morphemes. Examples of these clitics are listed below.

<i>nta</i>	second person Object
<i>nta-pula</i>	second person-dual Object
<i>ngku-pula</i>	second person Dative-dual

The Ablative cross-referencing pronoun has the Dative form followed by *-lura* or *-jura*.

There is no clear phonological similarity between the free pronouns and the bound pronominal clitics. In §5.6 I discussed the possibility of the free pronouns as innovations and the bound pronouns as old forms of the free pronoun system. There is some similarity between the Wangkajunga pronominal clitics and the free pronouns of the Western Desert languages of the southern region but also to the bound pronouns of the Ngumbin languages. This is discussed in §6.2.6 below.

6.2.4 Ordering of bound pronoun clitics within a cluster

The order of bound pronouns in Wangkajunga is for the first person bound pronoun to be placed first regardless of its grammatical function. The Subject generally occurs second after any other bound pronoun namely, Object, Dative, Accessory, Ablative, or Reflexive.

In example 6.65 the first person singular Object bound pronoun *-rni* occurs before the third person dual Subject clitic *-pula*. Example 6.66 also has the first person bound pronoun first. In this example the first person plural exclusive form of the Object bound pronoun occurs before the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya*.

- 6.65 *Palunya-janu-lu-rni-pula kanyi-nu*
 DEM-ABL-ERG-1sgO-3dIS have-PST
 After that, those two cared for me. [PNGTS]

- 6.66 *Jila-kujupa jila-kujupa-lanyaju-ya kati-ma.*
 waterhole-ANOTH waterhole-ANOTH-1plexO-3plS take-PSTHB
 They used to take us from one waterhole to another. [DHN]

When two third person bound pronouns, or a second and third person bound pronoun co-occur the Subject typically occurs second. Example 6.67 is repeated here from 6.32 and 6.25. In this example the third person plural Object bound pronoun *-jananya* occurs before the third person dual Subject bound pronoun *-pula*. Example 6.68 has the second person dual Object bound pronoun *-ntapula* occurring before the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya*.

- 6.67 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa nyupa-rarra-lu larrku-ngka.*
 child-PL-3plO-3dIS have-PRES-PA spouse-PAIR-ERG valley-LOC
 The parents have their children in the valley between the sandhills. [SWPN]
- 6.68 *Pu-ngku-ntapula-ya jii-n-pa wirta.*
 hit-FUT-2plO-3plS DEM-PL-PA dog
 Those dogs will bite you two.

In example 6.69, repeated from 6.39, the third person singular Accessory bound pronoun *-lu* occurs before the second person dual Subject bound pronoun *-npula*.

- 6.69 *Ya-nku-lu-npula Jukuja-kutu.*
 go-FUT-3sgACS-2dIS name-ALL
 You two go over to Jukuja. [NBK3:7]

In example 6.70 the reflexive bound pronoun *-ngku* occurs before the third person dual Subject bound pronoun *-pula*.

- 6.70 *Tuju-lu-kujarra-ngku-pula pung-in-pa.*
 woman-ERG-DUAL-REFL-3dIS hit-PRES-PA
 Two women are fighting each other. [NBK2:25]

The patterns outlined above are by far the most common. The next examples, 6.71, 6.72, and 6.73 and 6.74, highlight the exceptions. These examples have both bound pronouns cross-referencing non-singular participants. Wangkajunga may neutralise the order of non-singular participants in the same way as the neighbouring Ngumbin languages have a neutralisation with the cross-referencing of dual participants. Orders of Subject then Dative and Dative then Subject are attested. Text 1 and Text 2 were recorded by two different speakers, both mature-aged women identifying themselves as Wangkajunga. In the first text the bound pronouns are ordered Subject-Dative and then Dative-Subject. The speaker is describing an illustration of family groups. The second text also has two different orderings Dative-Subject and then Subject-Dative. Each of the examples with alternate ordering has Dative marked human participants.

Text 1

- 6.71 *Nyupa-rarra-ku pula-janampa jiji kujarra, kujarra*
 spouse-PAIR-DAT 3dIS-3plDAT child two two.
 The two kids have these parents. [SWPN]
- 6.72 *An kakarra-kujupa, nyupa-rarra-kujupa-ku janampa-pula yupaly-pa,*
 CONJ east-ANOTH spouse-PAIR-ANOTH-DAT 3plDAT-3dIS few-PA
 And the other two, in the east, have these other parents. [SWPN]

Text 2

- 6.73 *Malaku-janampa-pula jiji-ku kati-ra mangkaja-kutu ngurra-kutu*
 return-3plDAT-3dIS child-DAT take-SER shelter-ALL home-ALL
 The two of them are taking it home to the bough shelter for their children.
 [SWPM1]
- 6.74 *Nyarra-ya-pulampa mala-nyang-in-pa kuka-kurlu-ku laltu-kurlu-ku.*
 DEM-3plS-3dIDAT back-see-PRES-PA meat-HAV-DAT many-HAV-DAT
 They are over there looking back for those two with lots of meat. [SWPM1]

A separate text has an order which is an alternative to the Subject second ordering illustrated by examples 6.72 to 6.74. Example 6.75 has two third person plural bound pronouns ordered with the third person plural Subject bound pronoun first and then the third person plural Object bound pronoun second.

- 6.75 *An parna-ngka-pa-ya-jananya ngarri-ju-nun jiji-nga jii-nga.*
 CONJ(E) ground-LOC-PA-3plS-3plO lie-CAUS-PST child-FOC DEM-FOC
 Those babies, they had to have them on the ground. [FLBD]

6.2.5 Numbers of bound pronouns in a cluster

Not more than two participants can be cross-referenced by the bound pronoun clitic cluster. This means that in a clause containing three grammatical arguments, one of them will not be cross-referenced by a bound pronoun. One bound pronoun must cross-reference the Subject argument. Of the two non-Subject arguments the one marked with the Dative case has preference. Examples 6.76 and 6.77 illustrate the bound pronoun cluster with the three argument verb *yiyanin* ‘sending’. In example 6.76 the first person singular Subject is cross-referenced by the bound pronoun *-rna* and the recipient argument is cross-referenced by the second person singular Dative bound pronoun *-ngku*. The thing sent, *jarntuparaku*

‘a few clothes’ is not cross-referenced. In example 6.77 the third person plural Subject, *punturtilu* ‘the men’, is cross-referenced by the third person plural bound pronoun *-ya*. The recipients of the thing sent *parntanyjiku* ‘the women’, rather than the thing sent, are cross referenced by the third person plural Dative bound pronoun *-janampa*.

- 6.76 *Yiyan-in-pa-rna-ngku jarntu-paraku.*
 send-PRES-PA-1sgS-2sgDAT clothes-few
 I’m sending some clothes to you. [NBK3:116]
- 6.77 *Puntu-rti-lu-janampa-ya parntany-rti-ku dollar yiya-nin.*
 man-PL-ERG-3plDAT-3plS woman-PL-DAT money send-PRES
 The men are sending some money for the women. [NBK2:202]

Some transitive verbs such as *kati* ‘take’, *mintimma* ‘sew’, and *palyala* ‘make’ can take an extra recipient or beneficiary participant. Example 6.78, repeated from 6.64, shows that it is the recipient argument rather than the thing sewn that is cross-referenced. In this example the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* ‘they’ and the first person plural Dative bound pronoun *-lampaju* ‘for us’ are included in the bound pronoun cluster. Example 6.79 has the verb *wakarnun* ‘cut out’ with an extra beneficiary participant. The example shows that it is the recipient, or beneficiary, that is cross-referenced. Here it is the *jijiku murtilyaku* ‘for the boy children’ that is cross-referenced by the third plural Dative bound pronoun *-janampa*.

- 6.78 *Mintim-ma-nun-pa-lampaju-ya.*
 sew-CAUS-PST-PA-1plDAT-3plS
 They made them for us. [FLBD]
- 6.79 *Jurrulungu-ya-janampa waka-rnun, trousers jiji-ku murtilya-ku*
 trousers-3plS-3plDAT cut-PST trousers child-DAT boy-DAT
 They cut out trousers for the boy children. [FLBD]

In each of the verbs in the examples above *yiya* ‘send’, 6.76 and 6.77, *mintimarnunpa* ‘sew’, 6.78, and *wakarnun* ‘cut out’ it is the animate participant that is cross-referenced. This is another instance where animacy is a motivating factor in cross-referencing.

The three argument verb *yuwa* ‘to give’ has two Absolutive marked non-Subject arguments. Example 6.80 and also example 6.61, shows that it is still the recipient argument that is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun although with this verb it is by the first person plural exclusive Object bound pronoun *-lanyaju* ‘us’ rather than a Dative bound pronoun. Example 6.81 indicates that if the recipient is third person singular then it will be cross-referenced by a third person singular Dative bound pronoun because there is no overt third person singular Object bound pronoun.

- 6.80 *Yu-ngun-pa -lanyaju-ya wirram-ju-rnun-pa turrirti.*
 give-PST-PA-1plexO-3plS wear-CAUS-PST-PA dresses
 They gave us dresses to wear. [FLBD]
- 6.81 *Yung-in-pa-ra-pula marlu-ø mirrka-ø nyupa-rarra-rlu*
 give-PRES-PA-3sgDAT-3dIS kangaroo-ABS grass-ABS spouse-PAIR-ERG
yirna-rlu.
 man-ERG
 The husband and wife are giving grass to the kangaroo. [NBK2:29]

Example 6.82 has the verb *yungu* ‘gave’ with three animate participants. In this example the thing given is animate. However it is still the recipient that is cross-referenced. The Subject argument is cross-referenced by the first person singular *-rna* and the recipient *tuju-rti* ‘the women’ is cross-referenced by the third person plural Object bound

-jananya. This is another example where not just animacy, but human participants are the motivation for cross-referencing. See also example 6.43 where an animal participant is not cross-referenced by an Accessory bound pronoun and 6.51 where an animal is not cross-referenced by an Ablative bound pronoun.

- 6.82 *Yu-ngu-rna-jananya lungkurta-kujarra tuju-rti*
 give-PST-1sgS-3plO blue-tongue.lizard-DUAL woman-PL
 I gave two blue-tongue lizards to the women. [NBK3]

6.2.6 Comparison of Wangkajunga bound pronouns with Proto Pama Nyungan pronouns

In §5.6.1, I compared the Wangkajunga free pronouns with the Proto Pama Nyungan (PPN) reconstructed pronouns. Few of the free pronouns were cognate with the PPN forms. It is the Wangkajunga bound pronouns that have a number of cognates with the PPN forms. The table of reconstructed Proto Pama Nyungan forms taken from Bower (2001:252) is repeated below.

Table 6.6: Proto Pama Nyungan reconstructed pronouns

		1st person	2nd person	3rd masculine	3rd feminine
Singular	ERG	*ngay-DHu	*ngin-tu	*NHulu	*NHantu
	NOM	*ngay	*ngin	*NHu, *ngu	*NHan
	ACC	*nganha	*ngin-nha	*nhunha	*nhana
	DAT	*ngatyu	*ngin+GEN	*nhu+GEN	*nhan+GEN
Dual	NOM	*ngali	NHuNpalV	*pula	
Plural	NOM	*ngana	*NHurra	*THana	

Table 6.7 shows the Wangkajunga bound pronouns that can be traced to PPN forms.

Table 6.7: Wangkajunga bound pronouns that can be traced to PPN forms

PPN Form	Wangkajunga Bound Pronoun
PPN *ngatyu	<i>-ju</i> first person singular Dative, exclusive
PPN *ngali	<i>-li</i> stem of first person dual
PPN *nganha	<i>-nya</i> first person dual and plural Object, first person dual and plural allative
PPN *NHurra	<i>-nyurra</i> second person plural
PPN *pula	<i>-pula, -pulanya, -pulampa</i> third person dual stem
PPN *THana	<i>-jananya, -janampa</i> third person plural possibly <i>-ya</i> by lenition

6.2.7 Comparison of cross-referencing in the Western Desert and neighbouring Marrngu and Ngumbin languages

The compulsory cross-referencing of pronominal clitics is a feature in which the northern Western Desert languages differ markedly from the southern languages Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara and Gugada. In this area of grammar the northern Western Desert languages have more similarities with the neighbouring Marrngu and Ngumbin languages than with the southern Western Desert languages. In this section I make some observations about the general features of the cross-referencing clitics in the various languages, that is whether or not they are compulsory, where they are attached and whether aspectual or modal information is included. I then compare the sets of cross-referencing clitics in each language.

6.2.7.1 General features of cross-referencing clitics

In the southern languages of the Western Desert, Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara and Gugada speakers use free pronouns and overt nominals more than they use the cross-referencing system. The free pronouns systems of these southern languages are complex and include more distinctions than the corresponding bound pronoun systems. In the most southern language, Gugada, it is not clear that there is a bound pronoun system. The sample sentences in the grammar do not show evidence of cross-referencing and there is no mention of bound pronouns in the grammatical description (Platt 1972).

In Yankunytjatjara all three sets of bound pronouns are defective in that there are forms equivalent to some but not all of the free pronouns. As Goddard (1985:61) notes the Nominative-Ergative set has only 5 clitics, the accusative set has 4 and the Dative only 3. In the southern Western Desert languages the use of bound pronouns is not obligatory and sentences containing free pronouns only are common in normal speech. Pitjantjatjara has a limited set of bound pronouns to cross-reference animate locations. These are first person singular, dual and plural and second person singular.

Where bound pronouns do occur in the southern Western Desert languages they are attached to the first word of the sentence or the first group of related nominals.

In contrast all the languages of the northern Western Desert group have similar highly complicated systems of bound pronouns. In these languages the bound pronoun systems are far more complex than those for the free pronouns. The bound pronoun cluster is most commonly attached to the first word of the clause but may be attached after a group of related nominals and occasionally may be attached to the verb. The bound pronouns in these languages are compulsory in clauses with finite verbal predicates.

In the southern language Ngaanyatjarra the bound pronouns are very common, are more complex than the free pronouns and are compulsory in every sentence (Glass and Hackett 1970:37). The bound pronoun systems of this language have many similarities to those of the northern Western Desert languages.

Table 6.8 below is an illustration of the set of Manyjilyjarra Ablative bound pronouns. This is an indication of the complexity of the bound pronouns of this group of languages. The set is more complex than the Ablative bound pronouns in Wangkajunga. The two forms for first person singular are different language varieties. The *-julura* form is from Kartujarra.

The non-Western Desert languages also have complex bound pronoun cross-referencing systems. In these languages the second position in the sentence is typically the position of the auxiliary, the bound pronouns plus the base, and in all the non-Western Desert languages it is a compulsory element. These languages differ from the Western Desert

languages in the base to which the clitics are attached. This is discussed in some detail by McConvell (1996).

Table 6.8: Manyjilyjarra Ablative bound pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>-jura/-julura</i> (K)	<i>-limpalura</i> (incl.) <i>-limpajura</i> (excl.)	<i>-lampalura</i> (incl.) <i>-lampajulura</i> (excl.)
2	<i>-ngkura</i>	<i>-ngkurapula</i> <i>-npulampalura</i>	<i>-nyurrampalura</i>
3	<i>-lura</i>	<i>-pulampalura</i>	<i>-janampalura</i>

Walmajarri bound pronouns are attached to an auxiliary, a modal root which indicates the mood of the utterance and this is followed by pronominal suffixes. The auxiliary is an obligatory element in the clause and normally occurs in second position. The ordering of suffixes is relatively complex although generally Subject occurs first. Accessory is a single form and not marked for person or number.

In the Eastern Walmajarri dialect most speakers attach the pronominal suffixes to the first word or constituent of the clause and omit the modal root. In this dialect the use of the modal root is limited to a small number of older speakers. (Eirlys Richards pers. comm., 1997)

Warlpiri pronominal clitics attach to one of a set of auxiliaries, which usually occur in second position (Hale 1973; Laughren 1982).

Jaru bound pronouns are attached to a base form *nga-*, *-ba/-wa* in declarative sentences, an interrogative nominal, an adverb of modality, a conjunction, *-wangu* (Wawarl dialect), a verb, or a sentence modifier. The most common base in Jaru is the catalyst *nga-* and the sentence modifier is the least common.

Nyangumarta bound pronouns are attached to the verb. Sharp's analysis has two types of bound pronouns, one set which are phonologically affixes and another which have word status (1998:314).

6.2.7.2 Morphological differences in bound pronouns in the northern Western Desert languages

Kukatja has third person plural Subject *-tjana* as well as *-ya* and third person plural Object *tjana* as well as *-jananya*. Kukatja also has the full set of Ablative, Valiquette's 'Avoidance', although it differs from Manyjilyjarra in having a generalised non-singular dual form *-ngkurapula*. Valiquette (1995) also has a set of Reflexive Possessive Bound Pronouns which are largely homophonous with the Ablative set although he says this analysis is problematic.

Yulparija has first person singular Object *-ja* where the other languages of the group have *-rni*. The Yulparija 'Locative', termed Accessory in Table 6.9, could be similar to both Ablative and Accessory bound pronouns in the other languages. The forms for Yulparija locative (Accessory) bound pronouns contain the *-nya* morpheme from the Object and Accessory sets and the *-ra* morpheme from the Ablative set. The Yulparija reflexive clitic is *nyi* while the other four languages have *-ngku*.

6.2.7.3 Comparison of bound pronoun paradigms

Table 6.9 compares the types of cross-referencing found in each of the languages. Each column represents a separate set of cross-referencing clitics.

6.2.7.4 Bound pronouns and free pronouns

There is some similarity between the free pronouns of the southern Western Desert languages and the bound pronouns of the northern Western Desert group. The second person bound form *-li* is similar to the second person singular free pronoun which, in both Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara, is *ngali*. The dual form *-pula* is similar to the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara free pronoun for third person dual *pula*. The Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara free pronoun for third person plural *jana* is the stem of the Wangkajunga third person plural bound pronouns in the Object, *-jananya*, and Dative case *-janampa*.

Table 6.9: Bound pronouns sets in Western Desert and four non-Western Desert neighbours

Language	Bound Pronoun Sets					
Non-Western Desert						
Nyangumarta	Subject	Object	Dative		Ablativ.	Reflex.
Walmarjarri	Subject	Object	Dative	Access.		Reflex.
Jaru	Subject	Object	Dative	Access.*		Reflex.
Warlpiri	Subject	Object	Dative			Reflex.
Northern Western Desert						
Kukatja	Subject	Object	Dative	Access	Ablativ.*	Reflex.
Manyjilyjarra	Subject	Object	Dative*	Access.*	Ablativ.	Reflex.
Wangkajunga	Subject	Object	Dative	Access.	Ablativ.	Reflex.
Yulparija	Subject*	Object*	Dative	Access.*		Reflex.
Pintupi	Subject	Object	Dative	Access.	Ablativ.*	Reflex.
Southern Western Desert						
Ngaanyatjarra	Subject	Oblique	Dative			Reflex
Yankunytjatja	Subject	Accusat.	Dative			Reflex.
Pitjantjatjara	Nomin.	Accusat.	Dative	Access.		Reflex.
Gugada	No data on bound pronouns					

I have standardised the terms for the functions in this table. Some of them are not the original terms used by individual writers. In Manyjilyjarra, Marsh (1976, 1992) uses ‘Referential’ for bound pronouns cross-referencing Dative arguments and ‘Object’ for bound pronouns cross-referencing animate locations and accompaniments. For Yulparija, Burridge (1996) has ‘Nominative’ for Subject, ‘Accusative’ for Object and ‘Locative’ for Accessory bound pronouns. In his Kukatja grammatical sketch, Valiquette has ‘Avoidance’ for the set termed ‘Ablative’ here. Hansen and Hansen (1978) have the term ‘Avoidance’ for the Ablative in Pintupi. Accessory is termed ‘Locative’ in Jaru (Tsunoda 1981).

7 *Verb derivational morphology*

Introduction

Wangkajunga has a class of words that are inflected for tense, aspect and mood and can be classed as verbs. The verb class includes a finite number of simple verbs and an indefinite number of complex verbs. The simple verbs, approximately 70 in number, denote a range of meanings including actions, motions and physical positions, sensations and utterances. The number of verbs is greatly increased by various morphological processes that make compound and complex verbs. Serial verb constructions (Chapter 9) also add to the possible meanings expressed by verbal predicates in Wangkajunga. The number of arguments selected by the verbs, that is, their transitivity, is quite rigid. Except for one verb (§7.1) verbs cannot be both transitive and intransitive.

In this chapter I describe the argument structure of simple verbs and the various compounding and derivational processes that create compound and complex verbs. Section 7.1 introduces the simple verbs and the argument structures that they select. Section 7.2 describes the compounding processes that occur to combine preverbs and a number of verbal roots. Section 7.3 contains a short discussion on reduplication. Section 7.4 describes a number of derivational affixes that create verbs from nominals and change the argument structure of verbs to produce two argument verbs. Section 7.5 outlines the derivational processes that result in single argument verbs. Section 7.6 describes the directional affixes occurring on verbs, and 7.7 the post-inflectional affixes. Section 7.8 makes some comparisons between verb morphology in Wangkajunga and the other north-western languages of the Western Desert and the southern languages of the Western Desert. These are then compared with four non-Western Desert neighbouring languages of the north-west.

A simple verb in Wangkajunga can consist of the verbal root and its inflections. Compound verbs are composed of preverbs attached to verbal roots and complex verbs can consist of a verbal root plus derivational affixes or a compound verb plus derivational affixes. Directional affixes can be prefixes or suffixes. The formula for a possible verbal word, with the stem underlined, is given below.

Verbal word=(direction)(preverb)verbal root (derivation)(derivation) inflection (directional affixes)

7.1 Transitivity

In §4.4 I described the case marking of nominal arguments in Wangkajunga as an Ergative-Absolutive system. In this system the subject arguments of single argument verbs and the object arguments of two argument verbs are treated alike and marked by

Absolutive case, realised as zero. The subject argument of a two argument verb is marked with Ergative case. Wangkajunga verbs can also select Dative marked arguments.

Wangkajunga verbs are rigidly either transitive or intransitive. It is extremely rare for the same verb to alternatively select Ergative and Absolutive subjects. I have recorded only one verb *kampa* ‘burn’ that can select either subject. It is common in Australian languages for verbs to be rigidly transitive or intransitive (Blake 1987; Hale 1982). Other languages of the area have a verb meaning ‘burn’ as the one exception. Warlpiri has two synonymous verbs *kampami* and *jankami* that show the property of being transitive or intransitive (Hale 1982:240). Nyangumarta has a slightly different pattern with two verbs *kampa* ‘burn’ belonging to different verb classes. One has the case frame *kampa* ‘ERG burn ABS’ and the other has ‘ABS burn’ (Sharp 1998:432). Walmajarri has *kamparnu* ‘ERG burn ABS’ with the transitive meaning but also has *manyjirnu* ‘ABS burn’ (Richards and Hudson 1990). The verb *kampa* ‘burn’ needs further investigation in Wangkajunga. The neighbouring Western Desert languages Kukatja (Valiquette 1993) Manytjilyjarra and Kartujarra (Marsh 1992) have the verb *kampa* in two different verb classes both of which are transitive. In Pintupi (Hansen 1977) the verb is recorded as *kampangu* and belongs to the zero class. In this language *kampa* has two agents the sun or fire (Hansen 1977:16)

The alternative case frames I have recorded for Wangkajunga *kampa* ‘burn’ are illustrated in examples 7.1 and 7.2 below. In 7.1 *kampa* has an Ergative subject *nguyumparalu*¹ ‘fire’ and Absolutive object *jina* ‘foot’. In 7.2 *kampa* has an Absolutive subject *waru* ‘fire’.

- 7.1 *Kampangu-rni nguyumpara-lu jina-ø*
 burn-PST-1sgO fire-ERG foot-ABS
 The fire burnt my foot. [NBK3:75.]

- 7.2 *Wulu kampa-ma waru-ø.*
 continuously burn-PSTIMP fire-ABS
 The fire would keep on burning. [BRNS]

Single argument verbs that select a subject argument in the Ergative case are also extremely rare. The one exception to this is the performance verb *nyanpi-puwa* ‘dance’. (This verb applies only to women’s dancing.) The verb can be used with a single Ergative subject argument as in 7.3.

- 7.3 *Tuju-lu-ya nyanpi-punga-ma.*
 woman-ERG-3plS dance-hit-PSTIMP
 The women were dancing. [NBK3:75]

7.1.1 The transitivity of the simple verbs

In this section I have grouped the simple verbs firstly in terms of the number of arguments they take and secondly in terms of the case of the arguments selected by the meaning of each verb. The possible argument structures for Wangkajunga verbs are set out in Table 7.1.

¹ The word *nguyumpara* is now the general word for fire as the previous word *waru* is currently taboo due to the death of a person with a name sounding like *waru*.

Table 7.1: Wangkajunga verbal predicate argument structure

intransitive	ABS		
extended intransitive	ABS		DAT (opt)
semi-transitive	ERG		DAT
transitive	ERG	ABS	
ambi-transitive	ERG/ABS		
	<i>kampa</i>		
ditransitive-‘send’	ERG	ABS	DAT
ditransitive-‘give’	ERG	ABS	ABS ²

7.1.1.1 Simple verbs -ABS

These small numbers of simple verbs are stance and motion verbs and the utterance verb *yula* ‘cry’ which select a single Absolutive subject argument. They are illustrated by examples 7.4 and 7.5.

stance

ngara ‘ABS stand’, *ngarri* ‘ABS lie’, *nyina* ‘ABS sit, stay’

motion

jarrpa ‘ABS enter’, ‘enter into’, *tatila* ‘ABS climb, climb on’,
yarra ‘ABS go’, *pakala* ‘ABS arise, get up’, *punkala* ‘ABS fall’

utterance

yula ‘ABS cry’

7.4 *Ngaa-ya jiji-wiyaju-ø nyin-in-pa yurlta-ngka.*
 DEM-3plS child-only-ABS sit-PRES-PA in.camp-LOC
 This is just children staying in camp. [SWPN1]

7.5 *Ngaa-ya kutu-kujarra kutu-kujarra ngarr-in.*
 DEM-3plS middle-DUAL middle-DUAL lie-PRES
 In this one they are lying two by two next to fires. [SWPY]

7.1.1.2 Simple verbs -ABS-DAT (optional)

The speech verb *wangka* ‘talk’ can select Absolutive subjects and optional Dative complements. I have labelled this verb ‘extended intransitive’. The verb *witula* ‘call over’ is a possible member of this group.³

speech

wangka ‘ABS talk’, ‘ABS talk to animate LOC’

7.6 *Murtilya-kujarra-pula-janampa wangka-ngu puntu-rti-ku.*
 boy-two-3dIS-3plDAT talk-PST old.men-pl-DAT
 The two boys talked to the old men. [NBK3:157]

² Example 6.81, and 7.20 below, has an exception to this pattern and is discussed in §7.1.1.5.

³ My examples of this verb have non-subject arguments cross-referenced by Dative bound pronouns. Examples with overt arguments are needed to confirm the case of the subject.

- 7.7 *Yumu-rna-ngku wangka-ngu*
just-1sgS-2sgDAT talk-PST
I just spoke to you for nothing. [NBK2:262]
- 7.8 *Wangka-nin-pa-rna-lu Linyarri-ngka.*
talk-PRES-PA-1sgS-3sgACS name-LOC
I'm talking with Linyarri. [NBK3:92]

7.1.1.3 Simple verbs -ERG-DAT

The simple verb *ngurrila* selects an Ergative subject and marks the goal of the search with the Dative. In example 7.9 the Dative argument *parnaparntiku* 'for a goanna' is crossreferenced by the third person singular bound pronoun *-ra*. The action verb *jawala* 'dig' selects a Dative or Absolutive argument as the goal of the digging activity. These are illustrated in examples 7.10 and 7.11. The Absolutive argument *karnti* 'potato' in example 7.11 but not the Dative argument *jurntaku* 'for bush onion' in 7.10 is crossreferenced. The perception verb *nyawa* 'look', 'look for' has an Ergative subject and can select an Absolutive or Dative goal argument. Example 7.12 illustrates *nyawa* 'see' with a Dative argument and 7.13 illustrates the same verb with an Absolutive argument.

searching

ngurrila 'ERG search for DAT'

jawala 'ERG dig ABS', 'ERG dig DAT'

- 7.9 *Wirta-lu-ra ngurri-nin-pa parnaparnti-ku*
dog-ERG-3sgDAT search-PRES-PA goanna-DAT
The dog is searching for a goanna. [CLTLS]
- 7.10 *Tuju-lu-ya jurnta-ku jawan-in-pa.*
woman-ERG-3plS bush.onion-DAT dig-PRES-PA
The women are digging for bush onions. [CLTLS]
- 7.11 *Tuju-lu-ya-jananya karnti-ø jawan-in-pa*
woman-ERG-3plS-3plO bush.potato-ABS dig-PRES-PA
The women are digging bush potatoes. [CLTLS]

perception

nyawa 'ERG see ABS', 'ERG look for DAT'

- 7.12 *Nyang-in-pa-pulampa-ya yipi-ku, mama-ku,*
see-PRES-PA-3dlDAT-3plS mother-DAT father-DAT
They are looking for their mother and father. [SWPM]
- 7.13 *kutu-ngka-laju parnaparnti-ø nya-ngu.*
middle-LOC-1plexS goanna-ABS see-PST
Halfway along we saw a goanna. [KNG]

The verb *nyawa* also has a special function in Wangkajunga as an introducer of direct speech. This is comparable to the English use of 'goes' and 'thinks' to introduce direct speech. Example 7.14 illustrates this use of *nyawa*. The context of this example is a scene from the speakers' traditional life in which the children are waiting at the camp while the adults have gone hunting. The children keep looking out for their parents.

- 7.14 *An palunjanu-lu⁴ nya-ku Nyarra-pula tati-rnu*
 an SENTMOD-ERG see-FUT DEM-3dIS climb-PST
 And after that she says, ‘They’ve climbed up [the sandhill] over there!’ [DHN]

7.1.1.4 Simple verbs -ERG-ABS

The verbs in this group are nearly all typical action process verbs with an Ergative marked agent acting with volition on an Absolutive patient. Examples 7.15 to 7.18 are illustrations of their use. This group also contains the perception verb *kulila* ‘listen to’, some speech verbs and the stative verb *kanyila* ‘have’. The meaning of the verb *kanyila* can be extended to ‘care for’ as illustrated in example 7.15. The group also contains the verb *kurripila* ‘sprinkle’. The only recorded example of this verb is with the reflexive as in 7.18.

kanyila ‘ERG have, care for ABS’

perception

kulila ‘ERG listen to ABS’

speech

japila ‘ERG ask ABS’, *wajala* ‘ERG says ABS’, *warrkila* ‘ERG growl at ABS’

action processes

jikila ‘ERG drink ABS’, *jinkala* ‘ERG chop ABS’
jurra ‘ERG put ABS LOC’, *kaljala* ‘ERG fill ABS’
kampa ‘ERG burn, heat ABS’, ‘ABS burn’
kawa ‘ERG carry ABS’
kantula ‘ERG stamp on, kick, dance ABS’
karnila ‘ERG winnow ABS’, *karrpila* ‘ERG tie up ABS’
kati ‘ERG take, bring ABS’, *katula* ‘ERG chop ABS’
kujala ‘ERG light ABS’, *kurtala* ‘ERG cut, tear ABS’
kurrula ‘ERG scrape out ABS’, *manjila* ‘ERG pick up ABS’
marra ‘ERG get ABS’, *mijila* ‘ERG hook ABS’
murntala ‘ERG grab ABS’, ‘ERG grab at animate LOC’
ngala ‘ERG eat ABS’, *ngalula* ‘ERG hold ABS’
nyirtila ‘ERG rub ABS’, *nyurlkala* ‘ERG stir ABS’
pajala ‘ERG bite ABS’, *palila* ‘ERG knead ABS’
pawula ‘ERG cook ABS’, *payila* ‘ERG scold ABS’
puwa ‘ERG hit, kill ABS’, *tilila* ‘ERG ignite ABS’
wakala ‘ERG pierce, write, sear ABS’
wanala ‘ERG follow, accompany ABS’
wanila ‘ERG cut ABS’, *warrala* ‘ERG cover ABS’
wartula ‘ERG straighten ABS’, *winila* ‘ERG pull ABS’
wumula ‘ERG heap up ABS’, *yarrala* ‘ERG untangle ABS’
yatula ‘ERG soften ABS’, *yilala* ‘ERG pull ABS’

⁴ The syllable *-ya* [*palunyanulanu*>*palunjanulu*] is sometimes deleted from this word in fast speech, particularly before an Ergative suffix. Syllable deletion is discussed in §2.4.3.5.

yintila ‘ERG pour ABS’, *yungkala* ‘ERG shoot, blow, grind, spin ABS’,
yurntula ‘ERG push ABS’

- 7.15 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa yirna nyupa-rarra-lu.*
 child-PL-3plO-3dIS care.for-PRES-PA man spouse-PAIR-ERG
 The husband and wife are caring for the children. [SWPN]
- 7.16 *Tuju-lu kujarra-lu-pula⁵ parnaparnti-ø pung-in-pa.*
 woman-ERG two-ERG-3dIS goanna-ABS hit-PRES-PA
 Two women are killing a goanna. [CLTLS]
- 7.17 *Tuju-lu kalyu-ø jikin-in-pa.*
 woman-ERG water-ABS drink-PRES-PA
 The woman is drinking water. [NBK2]

Reflexive examples

- 7.18 *Kurrpi-rnu-rna-ju kalyu-kurlu-lu.*
 sprinkle-PST-1sgS-1sgREFL water-HAV-ERG
 I sprinkled myself with water. [NBK3]

7.1.1.5 Simple verbs -ERG-ABS-DAT, -ERG-ABS-ABS

Two of the simple verbs always select two non-subject arguments. The verb *yiya* ‘send’ has the argument structure ‘ERG send ABS to DAT’ and the verb *yuwa* ‘give’ typically has the argument structure ‘ERG give ABS to ABS’. The third person singular recipient argument of *yuwa* is crossreferenced by a Dative bound pronoun. Recipient arguments of *yuwa* other than third person singular are crossreferenced by object bound pronouns. In example 7.21 the recipients of the gooseberries are *jijirti* ‘the children’. They are crossreferenced by the third person plural bound pronoun *-jananya*. Some simple verbs optionally select a recipient or beneficiary non-subject argument. This is illustrated by example 7.22. The recipient *puntuku* ‘for the man’ is crossreferenced by the third person singular Dative bound pronoun *-ra*. The bound pronoun in this clause is not typical as it is not in second position.

- 7.19 *Puntu-rti-lu-janampa-ya parntany-rti-ku dollar yiya-nin.*
 man-PL-ERG-3plDAT-3plS woman-PL-DAT money send-PRES
 The men are sending money for the women. [NBK2:202]
- 7.20 *Yung-in-pa-ra-pula marlu mirrka nyupa-rarra-rlu yirna-rlu.*
 give-PRES-PA-3sgDAT-3dIS kangaroo grass spouse-PAIR-ERG man-ERG
 The husband and wife are giving grass to the kangaroo. [NBK2:29]
- 7.21 *Jiji-rti-rna-jananya gooseberry yu-ngu.*
 child-PL-1sgS-3plO gooseberry give-PST
 I gave the gooseberries to the children. [NBK2:161]
- 7.22 *Kaja-kurnu-lu wama-ra ma-nu puntu-ku.*
 son-POSS-ERG tobacco-3sgDAT get-PAST man-DAT
 The son got the tobacco for the man. [PNTGSM]

⁵ The word *kujarra* ‘two’ is used as a derivational suffix as well as an independent word. This is discussed in §4.2.4.2.

7.2 Compounding

Some of the simple verbs listed above are combined with preverbs to form compound verbs. In this section I list the verbs that combine with preverbs and which I term ‘verbal roots’ and then discuss the types of preverbs recorded in the language. I refer to ‘preverbs’ as the nominal, verb or other unanalysable form occurring before the verbal stem. This compound combination is underlined in the verbal word formula repeated from the introduction to this chapter.

Verbal word=(direction)(preverb)verbalroot(derivation)(derivation) inflection (direction)

I then describe the compound verbs under the headings of each of the verbal roots. I have separated the causative and inchoative derivational affixes from preverbs and discuss them under the heading derivational suffixes. However the difference between the causative suffixes *-ma* and *-ju* and the verbal roots *marra* and *jurra* are not clear. The distinctions are investigated further in §7.4.

A note about the case frames for the compound and derived verbs

In normal Wangkajunga discourse predicates do not always occur with overt nominals. Overt nominals are used for purposes such as the initial introduction of participants, the changing of a topic or to contrast participants (§12.1). The majority of clauses occur without overt nominals. This means that the case frame of the predicate is not always available. In the following discussion some of the compound and derived verbs are not labelled with case frames. The case frames of these verbs are still to be confirmed.

7.2.1 Verbal roots

The following simple verbs have been found combined with preverbs as verbal roots.

jarrpa ‘ABS enter’, *ngarri* ‘ABS lie’
pakala ‘ABS get up’, *yarra* ‘ABS go’
jurra ‘ERG put ABS’, *kanyila* ‘ERG have ABS’
kati ‘ERG carry, bring ABS’, *marra* ‘ERG get ABS’
puwa ‘ERG hit ABS’

It is difficult to distinguish between a compound verb with *marra* ‘get’ and a derived verb with the *-ma* causative. These are both described in §7.4.1. The same problem occurs with the compound verbs with *jurra* ‘put’ and the derived *ju* causative verbs. This is discussed in §7.4.2.

7.2.2 Preverbs

There are four types of units that can combine with verbal roots as preverbs in Wangkajunga. As preverbs they all attach directly to the verb root without intervening morphemes or a pause (Nash 1982). The four types are:

- i. forms which can occur as independent words and take nominal inflections and are therefore classed as nominals. An example of this type of preverb is *yaliny* ‘shoulder’ in the compound verb *yaliny-junu* ‘ERG put across the shoulders ABS’.
- ii. forms which can be attached to more than one verbal root with similar meaning but which cannot occur as independent words. There are very few of these in the texts. Examples of this type of preverb are *tupurl* ‘be in water’ in the compound

verbs *tupurljurra* ‘ERG submerge ABS’, *tupurlpuwa* ‘ERG dive under ABS’ and *tupurlngara* ‘ABS submerge oneself in water’; and *ngartal* ‘break’ in the compounds *ngartaluwa* ‘ERG break ABS’ and *ngartalyanu* ‘ABS break down’.

- iii forms which attach to only one verbal root and do not occur as independent words. Examples of this type are *wirru* in the compound verb *wirrupuwa* ‘ERG throw away ABS’ and *wangku* in the compound verb *wangkujurra* ‘ERG cook ABS on top of the fire’. Some of these preverbs could be frozen forms from neighbouring languages and no longer recognised as independent words in Wangkajunga.
- iv. forms which can occur as independent words and take verbal inflections. An example of this type is *wirral* in the compound verb *wirraljalkati* ‘ABS run into’ (§7.2.3.4). The verb *wirrala* can appear as a simple verb ‘run’ with the normal range of inflections.

7.2.3 The compound verbs

7.2.3.1 Compounds with *-jurra*

The general meaning of the compound verbs with *jurra* is an additional meaning of ‘put’. For example, the compound verb *jupujurra* specifies the composition of the entity that is put into a position and *murrujurra* specifies how an entity is to be put into a position. At least two of the compound verbs with *jurra* have meanings that are not clearly related to the meaning of ‘put’. The verb *yirrijurra* ‘sic dogs after game’ may be an extension of the meaning as it can be explained as ‘putting dogs onto game’. The form *yirri* has not been attested as an independent word. The verb *yimpinjurra* ‘pick a fight with someone’ has a much less identifiable relationship to ‘put’.

The compound verbs in this group select Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects as in the examples 7.23 and 7.24. The semi-transitive verb *watijunu*, track has an Ergative subject and optional Dative object as in examples 7.23 and 7.24.

<i>jupu-jurra</i>	‘ERG put ABS which is chewed on ACCESS’
<i>laan-jurra</i>	‘ERG pierce ABS’
<i>murru-jurra</i>	‘ERG stand ABS upright’
<i>takul-jurra</i>	‘ERG insert ABS into something’
<i>tinki-jurra</i>	‘seat people in a circle, put something in a particular place’
<i>tupurl-jurra</i>	‘ERG soaks ABS in water’
<i>tuwun-jurra</i>	‘ERG bury ABS’
<i>wangku-jurra</i>	‘cook something by putting a flame over it’
<i>yimpin-jurra</i>	‘want to fight someone’
<i>yirri-jurra</i> ⁶	‘ERG send ABS (dogs) after game’

7.23	<i>kuka-ø-ya</i>	<i>winkuma-ø</i>	<i>jii-ø</i>	<i>yirrijuna-ma</i>	<i>kunyarr-kurlu-lu</i>
	meat-ABS-3plS	possum-ABS	DEM-ABS	sic.onto-PSTHB	dog(WAL)-HAV-ERG
	<i>wirta-kurlu-lu.</i>				
	dog-HAV-ERG				
	They used to go after that possum with a dog. [DHN]				

⁶ Warlpiri has a preverb *yirri* which occurs with the verbal root *kijirni* ‘throw’ to form a compound with the same meaning.

- 7.24 *Kartiya-lu murruju-nu warta jii.*
 European-ERG stand.upright-PST stick DEM
 The European stood that stick upright. [NBK2:173]

The form *watijurra* has the synchronic meaning in Wangkajunga ‘to track something’. The nominal *wati* is the word for man in Pitjantjatjara but is not in common usage in Wangkajunga. The compound verb selects an Ergative subject and a Dative for the goal of the tracking activity, example 7.25, or an Absolutive goal as in example 7.26.

- 7.25 *Purtu-laju-ra jina-ku watiju-rnu road-ku mutika-ku*
 in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT track-DAT track-PST road-DAT vehicle-DAT
 We looked in vain for the track, the vehicle road. [KNG]

- 7.26 *Watiju-nu mingajurru tuju-lu*
 track-PST bandicoot woman-ERG
 A woman tracked a bandicoot. [SWPN]

This set of compound verbs also includes an involuntary bodily action. A number of other involuntary bodily actions are compound verbs with *pu*. The meaning of this verb is slightly different from the *pu* compounds. It is composed of the nominal *kurlpa* plus *jurra* and can be paraphrased as ‘put the contents of your stomach on something’.

kurlpa ‘vomit’ *kurlpa-jurra* ‘put vomit on something’

There are two examples of compound verbs with *jurra* in which the preverb is itself a verb form. These are *jarrpajunu* ‘insert into’ and *junkujunu* ‘dip into’. Both have Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects. Example 7.27 illustrates this type of compound verb.

jarrpa ‘enter’ *jarrpa-junu* ‘ERG poke ABS into something’
jurra ‘put’ *junku-junama* ‘put something into something’

- 7.27 *Jarrampa-lu warta-ngka jarrpaju-nu hook.*
 prawn-ERG branch-LOC stuck.into-PST hook
 A prawn stuck the hook into a branch. [NBK3:74]

7.2.3.2 Compounds with *-puwa*

A large number of compound verbs are formed by the addition of nominal preverbs, and also preverbs which are not independent words, to the verb *puwa* ‘hit’. The effect of these verbs is of one entity, the subject, striking another.

The following compounds are formed by the addition of *puwa* to a nominal. They are subdivided according to the meaning of the compound. These select Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects (examples 7.28 and 7.31) with the exception of the involuntary bodily actions and the performance verb. The group of involuntary bodily actions generally have Absolutive subjects as illustrated by example 7.28. I have also recorded compounds of this type with Ergative subjects as in example 7.29. Valiquette (1993) has these involuntary process verbs marked as intransitive in Kukatja but Marsh (1992) has them selecting both Ergative and Absolutive subjects in Manyjilyjarra. The argument structure of these particular compounds needs further investigation. The compound *nyanpipuwa* selects an Ergative subject without an obvious object as indicated in example 7.30 repeated from 7.3. It can however be used with a reciprocal meaning when subject and object have the same referents, as in example 7.31.

Bodily actions

Involuntary processes

- jawalu-puwa* ‘ABS yawn’
kinil-puwa ‘ERG phlegm hits ABS’
nyitanji-puwa ‘hiccup’
tarrnga-puwa ‘burp’
- 7.28 *Puntu-ø jawulu-pung-in.*
 man-ABS yawn-hit-PRES
 The man is yawning. [NBK3:59]
- 7.29 *Puntu-lu kinil-pu-ngu.*
 man-ERG phlegm-hit-PST
 The man coughed. [NBK2:23]

Voluntary processes

- nyanpi-puwa* ‘ERG dance’
purlku-puwa ‘smoke’ (a cigarette)
- 7.30 *Tuju-lu-ya nyanpi-punga-ma.*
 woman-ERG-3plS dance-hit-PSTIMP
 The women were dancing. [NBK3:75]
- 7.31 *Nyukurni-ngku-pula nyanpipumga-ma.*
 Dreamtime-REFL-3dlS dance-PSTIMP
 They were dancing with each other in the Dreamtime. [DHN]

Mental processes

The nominal in the third example *karrartan* is borrowed from the Walmajarri nominal *karrarta* ‘anxious’ (Richards and Hudson 1990:78).

- marru-puwa* ‘ERG like very much ABS’ (cf. Walmajarri *marrupungu* ‘like, love’)
*milya-puwa*⁷ ‘recognise’ (cf. Warlpiri *milyapinyi* ‘recognise’)
karrartan-puwa ‘frighten’ (cf. Walmajarri *karrarta* ‘afraid’)

Motion

- ngaparr-puwa* ‘meet up again, return to certain place’
parrayarun-puwa ‘go right around’

Action Processes

- kaaly-puwa* ‘ERG cool ABS’
yakurra-puwa ‘ERG pull skin off ABS’
yankirr-puwa ‘ERG crack ABS’
paanpaan-puwa ‘hammer’
tapurr-puwa ‘put hole into ground’

⁷ In Warlpiri *pinyi* means ‘hit’. In Walmajarri *mil* ‘eye’ and *pungu* ‘hit’ combine to mean *milpungu* ‘whittle, sharpen’ (Richards and Hudson 1990:152).

- 7.32 *Walypa-lu-linya kaaly-pung-in.*
 wind-ERG-1dIO cool-hit-PRES
 The wind is cooling us. [NBK3:93]

- 7.33 *Palya-minyirri-ø-ya marru-punga-ma*
 good-very-ABS-3plS like-hit-PSTIMP
 They really liked the pretty ones, i.e. they were struck by them. [KNG]

These following compounds have preverbs which have no independent meaning attached to *puwa* ‘hit’. My examples with overt arguments have Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects. These are illustrated by the examples 7.34 to 7.36. Many of these verbs depict strong vigorous actions.

<i>pali-puwa</i>	‘ERG find ABS’ (cf. Warlpiri <i>palipinya</i> ‘find+kill’)
<i>kipirr-puwa</i>	‘ERG bust ABS’
<i>wirru-puwa</i>	‘ERG throw ABS away’
<i>tupurl-puwa</i>	‘ERG dive under ABS’
<i>kirral-puwa</i>	‘knock against something’
<i>kaarl-puwa</i>	‘break something’
<i>kural-puwa</i>	‘wash oneself or something’
<i>ngartal-puwa</i>	‘crack something’
<i>tartal-puwa</i>	‘hit against something’
<i>pulturr-puwa</i>	‘thread, skewer something’
<i>yujun-puwa</i>	‘roast something’
<i>yirriny-puwa</i>	‘tease out something like hair or rope’
<i>waja-puwa</i>	‘erase something’

- 7.34 *Parnaparnti-lu tupurl-pu-ngu kalyu.*
 goanna-ERG submerge-hit-PST water
 The goanna dived into the water. [NBK2:148]

- 7.35 *Tuju-lu-pula-jananya lungkurta-rti yujun-pu-ngu ka*
 women-ERG-3dIS-3plO skink-PL roast-hit-PST CONJ
ngala-ngu wiya-rnu.
 eat-PST NEG-PST
 The women roasted the skinks and ate them all up. [NBK3:157]

- 7.36 *Tuju-lu-pula-jananya pulturr-pu-ngu pura.*
 woman-ERG-3dIS-3plO thread-hit-PST bush.tomato
 The women threaded the bush tomatoes. [NBK3:157]

Words introduced from Kriol can also become preverbs attached to Wangkajunga verbal roots. In the following example the Kriol verb *jatimap* ‘close’ is combined with *puwa* to form the compound verb *jatimappuwa* ‘close up a house, store or box. The Kriol verb *jatimap* contains the morpheme *-im* which is the Kriol transitive marker.

- 7.37 *Kuwarri-ngulyu-pula jatimap-pu-ngu ka ya-nu.*
 now-CERT-3dIS close.up-hit-PST CONJ go-PST
 It was only just now that they closed up the shop and went. [NBK2:75]

7.2.3.3 Compounds with *-kanyila*

I have two examples of compound verbs with *kanyila*, ‘have’. This is not sufficient to determine the semantics that unite these compounds. The verb *kanyila* can also mean ‘care for’ (example 7.15 above). A preliminary hypothesis would be that these compounds describe a caring relationship between the two participants. The verb *kulyakanyinin* has an Absolutive subject and a Dative complement. Examples 7.38 and 7.39 illustrate the use of these *kanyila* compounds.

Nominal		Nominal plus <i>kanyila</i>	
<i>yampu</i> ‘arms’		<i>yampu-kanyila</i> ‘ABS hug’	
Preverb		Preverb plus <i>kanyila</i>	
<i>kulya</i>		<i>kulya-kanyila</i> ‘someone waits for DAT’	
7.38	<i>Nyupa-lu</i> spouse-3sgACS	<i>yampu-kanyin-in.</i> arms-have-PRES	
	Her boyfriend is hugging her. [NBK2:26]		
7.39	<i>Ngayu-rna-ra</i> 1sg-1sgS-3sgDAT	<i>kulyakanyi-nin-pa</i> wait-PRES	<i>Yijayi-ku</i> name-DAT
	I am waiting for Yijayi. [NBK3:157]		

7.2.3.4 Compounds with *-kati*

A number of compound verbs are formed by the addition of preverbs to *kati* ‘carry’. The case frames that I know of these compound verbs take mostly Absolutive subject arguments with the exception of *yapankati* ‘creep up on’. Walmajarri has a number of compound verbs formed with the verb *kangu* ‘carry’. The Walmajarri compounds, which are also verbs of motion, typically take Ergative subject and Absolutive objects (Richards and Hudson 1990).

All of these Wangkajunga compound verbs have movement in their meaning. The addition of *kati* adds a manner of movement, carrying something across the shoulders, walking in a daze, or walking in a direction, away from or towards the speaker, to the movement. They are often prefixed by a directional clitic (discussed in §7.5.). The compound verbs of this group are listed below. Examples 7.40 and 7.41 provide examples of the compounds verbs *warinkati* ABS ‘arrive’, *wirrjalkati* ABS ‘run’. Example 7.42 has the compound verb *yapankati* ‘creep up on’ in a serial verb construction with an Ergative subject and Absolutive Object. As a single verb *yapankati* may have a different case frame.

Nominal preverb		Nominal plus <i>kati</i>	
<i>yaliny</i> ‘shoulder’		<i>yaliny-kati</i> ‘carry across the shoulders’	
<i>kawan</i> ‘forgetful’		<i>parra-kawan-kati</i> ‘wandering around stupidly’	
<i>mala</i> ‘behind’		<i>mala-kati</i> ‘return’	
<i>nyarra</i> ‘over there’		<i>nyarra-kati</i> ‘ABS go over that way’	

Non-independent preverb

yapan
murr
warin

Preverb plus *kati*

*yapan-kati*⁸ ‘creep up on something’
maa-muurr-kati ‘ABS move away’
warin-kati ‘ABS arrive’

Intransitive verb preverb

wirrjala ‘run’

Intransitive verb plus *kati*

wirrjal-kati ‘ABS run towards something’

7.40 *Wiya-lampaju material-ø warin-ka-ngun*
 NEG-1plexDAT material-ABS arrive-carry-PST
 Material didn’t come for us. [FLBD]

7.41 *Wirrjal-kati-ngu jarrpa-ngu yuka-ngka mankarl-ja.*
 run-carry-PST enter-PST grass-LOC spinifex-LOC
 It ran over to the spinifex grass and went into it. [KNG]

7.42 *Puntu-lu ngalyangamuka yapan-kati-ngu pu-ngu.*
 man-ERG cat creep-carry-PST hit-PST
 The man crept up on and killed the cat. [NBK2:239]

7.2.3.5 Compounds with *-yarra*

The verb *yarra* ‘go’ combines with nominals and preverbs to form motion verbs which describe types of movement, such as circular, sliding, waving or wobbling and also changes of state such as breaking, breaking down or getting loose. These compound verbs select Absolutive subjects.

Nominal

jirraly ‘slippery’
junga ‘straight’
ngartal ‘broken’

Nominal plus *yarra*

jirral-yarra ‘ABS slip, slide’
junga-yarra ‘ABS go in a straight line’
ngartal-yarra ‘ABS go along with a flat tyre’

Preverb

kurrirti
kurrirtikurrirti
kurtikurti
tuul
yurripily
rurrurtun
wartuwartu
nyinturr

Preverb plus *yarra*

kurrirti-yarra ‘ABS go in circles’
kurrirtikurrirti-yarra ‘ABS go round and round in circles’
kurtikurti-yarra ‘ABS roll along, roll downhill’
tuul-yarra ‘ABS wring hands to choke’
yurripil-yarra ‘ABS flutter’
rurrurtun-yarra ‘ABS slide’
wartuwartu-yarra ‘ABS slide’
nyinturr-yarra ‘ABS loose, wobbly’ (as in teeth)

Two of these compound verbs with *yarra*, the verb for ‘choke’ *tuulyarra*, and *nyinturryarra* ‘loose, wobbly’ refer to movement of parts of the body rather than to movement of the whole body. The movement described by *tuulyarra* is limited to an action of the hands. The meaning of the verb *nyinturryarra* is restricted to the movement of teeth. This is illustrated in example 7.43.

⁸ Warlpiri has a compound verb *yura-ka-nyi*. The verb root is *kanyi* ‘carry’ and *yura* is a preverb meaning ‘stealthily’, ‘keeping low’.

The examples 7.44 and 7.45, illustrate the use of the compound verbs *yurripilyarra* ‘flutter’ and *rurrurtuyarra* ‘slide’.

- 7.43 *Nyinturr-ya-nku yirra-ø.*
loose-go-FUT teeth-ABS
My teeth will get loose. [NBK3:104]
- 7.44 *Kalyu-kurlu yurripil-ya-nu warta-ø*
water-HAV flutter-go-PST tree-ABS
The tree fluttered with the water. [NBK3:5]
- 7.45 *Ngarlpu-rri-n-pa-ya rurrurtu-yan-in-pa kanin-jarra*
play-INC-PRES-PA-3plS slide-go-PRES-PA down-ASST
jii-ngka tali-ngka pilyurr-pilyurr-ja.
DEM-LOC sandhill-LOC steep-RDP-LOC
They are playing at sliding down the steep slope of that sandhill. [SWPMi]

7.2.3.6 Compounds with *-ngarrin*

A number of nominals and preverbs are combined with the stance verb *ngarrin* ‘lie’. This verb is also used as a copula verb in Wangkajunga (see §10.3). The derived verbs have Absolutive subjects. They describe particular stances, lying postures or specific states.

Nominal	Nominal plus <i>ngarri</i>
<i>kurnu</i> ‘sleep’	<i>kurnu-ngarri</i> ‘ABS hibernate, sleep as a seed before germination, gestate’
Preverb	Preverb plus <i>ngarri</i>
<i>parnti</i>	<i>parnti-ngarri</i> ‘ABS smell’
<i>takurl</i>	<i>takurl-ngarri</i> ‘ABS be inside’
<i>tupurl</i>	<i>tupurl-ngarri</i> ‘ABS be in water’
<i>wilti</i>	<i>wilti-ngarri</i> ‘ABS hang’

The following are examples of these compound forms.

- 7.46 *Warta-ngka wilti-ngarrin.*
tree-LOC hang-lie
It is hanging in the tree. [NBK2:15]
- 7.47 *Lungkurta-kurnu jiji juni-ngka kurnu-ngarr-in.*
blue-tongue lizard-POSS baby stomach-LOC sleep-lie-PRES
A blue-tongue lizard’s babies grow in her stomach. [SWPN]

7.2.3.7 Compounds with *-pakala*

There are a small number of compounds with *pakala* ‘get up’ which have Absolutive subjects. The examples in my corpus are movement verbs that describe an upward movement.

<i>tikarl-pakarnu</i>	‘ABS climb up’
<i>tikarl-tikarl-pakarnu</i>	‘ABS clamber up’
<i>parr-pakarnu</i>	‘ABS fly away’

- 7.48 *wayurta-ø warta-ngka tikarl-paka-la.*
 possum-ABS tree-LOC climb-get.up-PSTHB
 a possum would climb up on a tree. [SWPM]

7.2.3.8 Compounds with *-jarra*

There are a small group of compound verbs formed by the addition of *-jarra* to a nominal or preverb. The *ja* morpheme is most likely related to the nominal *tjaa* ‘mouth’ in many Western Desert languages, to the verb *jajanu* ‘eat the whole lot without sharing’ in Walmajarri and other widespread forms *tha* and *ja* for the verb ‘eat’. The compound verb has an Ergative subject as in example 7.50 with the verb *murrjanin* ‘chew’. All the members of this small group describe actions of the body, and in most cases, actions to do with the mouth.

- japal-jarra* ‘ERG chew ABS’
kuwin-jarra ‘ERG suck ABS’
murr-jarra ‘ERG crunching ABS’
murrmurr-jarra ‘ERG chomp on ABS’
ngukupa-jarra ‘ERG kiss ABS’
yiilpurrr-jarra ‘ERG sip ABS’

- 7.49 *Kuwin-ja-nama-laju yilpurrr-ja-nama ssshrrrrrp ssshrrrp jiilanya.*
 suck-JA-PSTIMP-1plexS sip-JA-PSTIMP SOUND SOUND like.that
 We would be sucking and sipping it shlrp shlrp, like that. [DHN]

- 7.50 *Tuju-lu warta murr-jan-in,*
 woman-ERG stick chew-JAN-PRES
 The woman is chewing a stick. [NBK3:90]

7.2.3.9 Other compounds

with *-jalki*

I have one example of a movement verb with *-jalki*. The consultant translated the compound as *wantitijalkinma* as ‘jump over’. Example 7.51 illustrates its use in one context.

- 7.51 *Wirrja-ya wanti-ti-jalkin-ma, yawurta, yangka wirrja-la ngula*
 run-3plS leave-ACT-jalki-PSTIMP horse DEM run-IMP REL
wanti-ti-jalki-la warta-kutu-wana.
 leave-ACT-jalki-IMP stick-ALL-PERL
 Horses run and jump over, you know, run, the hurdles that they run and
 jump over. [SWPNMi]

with *-jinga* (CAUS)

Causatives with *-jinga* are very common in the southern language Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985:116). Goddard glosses it as ‘cause to do’. I have one example of a compound verb with this form.

- milurr-jingarnu* ‘get up from disrupted sleep’

7.3 Reduplication

Verbal reduplication involves the repetition of the verbal root or of the nominal or preverb of a compound verb. Phonologically the repeated syllable can be CV(V)C, CVCV or CVCVCV or CVCCV. Semantically reduplication indicates an iterative action. This is illustrated by examples 7.52 and 7.53 with the verbs *kurtikurtiyarra*, ‘ABS roll over and over’ and *murrmurrjarra* ‘ERG chomp on ABS’.

7.3.1 Reduplication of the verb root

The first two of these verbs do not occur unreduplicated.

mirrimirriwa ‘itch’

mirrmirrmarra ‘shiver’

wuriwurila ‘massage with finger in a circular motion’

This group of verbs occurs without reduplication.

wirrjawirrjala ‘run fast’, from *wirrjala* ‘run’

yinalyinala ‘gather lots’, from *yinala* ‘collect’

yintiyintila ‘fall heavily (rain), from *yintila* ‘pour’

7.3.2 Reduplication of the nominal or preverb

The first of these verbs does not occur unreduplicated.

paanpaaan-pungin ‘hammer’

This group of verbs also occurs without reduplication.

kurrirtikurrirti-yarra ‘roll down, roll along’, from *kurrirtiyarra* ‘roll’

kurtikurti-yarra ‘roll over, somersault’, from *kurtiyarra* ‘turn over’

murrmurr-jarra ‘chomp on’, from *murrjarra* ‘chew’

7.52 *Jiilanya-laju kurti-kurti-ya-na-ma.*
like.that-1plexS roll.over-RDP-go-PSTIMP
We would be rolling over and over like that. [SWPNMi]

7.53 *Ngana-n murr-murr-ja-nin?*
what-2sgS chew-RDP-ja-PRES
What are you chomping? [NBK2]

Examples 7.54 and 7.55 illustrate reduplication of the verb roots *wirrja-wirrjala*, ‘run fast’ and *yintiyintirnu* ‘fell heavily’. These examples appear to have a slightly different meaning to the previous examples involving the reduplication of a preverb. In examples 7.54 and 7.55 the action is intensified as well as repeated.

7.54 *Paka-la-laju wirrja-wirrjan-ma ya-rra nya-wa-ku pina.*
get up-SER-1plexS run-RDP-PSTIMP go-IMP see-IMP-PURP far
We would be running really hard to look into the distance. [DHN]

7.55 *Waral-pa yinti-yinti-rnu.*
rain-PA pour-RDP-PST
It poured with rain. [NBK:2:90]

7.4 Derivational suffixes – verbs with more than one argument

7.4.1 The *-ma* causative (CAUS)

The *-ma* causative is a common means of forming transitive verbs from nominals. It is also a productive means of forming Wangkajunga transitive verbs from introduced transitive Kriol verbs. The majority of these verbs are formed by an attributive nominal plus *-ma*. A less common allomorph of the *-ma* causative is *-mana*. (example 7.60) The resulting verb has an Ergative subject causing the activity and an Absolutive argument as the undergoer of the activity. The following examples illustrate the meanings of the *-ma* causative verbs.

Nominal	Derived Verb
<i>junga</i> ‘straight’	<i>junga-ma-rra</i> ‘ERG make ABS straight’
<i>maru</i> ‘black’	<i>maru-ma-rra</i> ‘ERG make ABS black’
<i>palya</i> ‘good’	<i>palya-ma-rra</i> ‘ERG repair ABS’
<i>purlpurr</i> ‘a cover’	<i>purlpurr-ma-rra</i> ‘ERG cover ABS with something’
<i>yiji</i> ‘a share’	<i>yiji-ma-rra</i> ‘share something’
<i>winkirr</i> ‘a dream’	<i>winkirr-ma-rra</i> ‘ERG cause ABS to appear in a dream’

The verb *kurtayimarra*, ‘knead’, has a similar form to these derived *-ma* causatives. However, I have not yet been able to identify the stem, *kurtayi*, as an independent word. Example 7.56 illustrates the use of the *-ma* causative with an attributive nominal.

- 7.56 *Puntu-lu wartu-lku junga-ma-nku kurlata-ø.*
 man-ERG bend-FUT straight-CAUS-FUT spear-ABS
 The man will bend and straighten the spear. [NBK3:60]

An interesting use of the *-ma* causative is in describing events concerning dreams. The *-ma* causative suggests that the Ergative subjects have control over the Absolutive marked entity in the dream. In this example the actor subject makes the small spirits appear in her dream. There is also a derived verb for ‘dream’ formed by a zero derivation (§7.4.3).

- 7.57 *Daisy-lu winkirr-ma-rnu murrungkurr-ø.*
 name-ERG dream-CAUS-PST small spirits-ABS
 Daisy dreamt of the small spirits. [NBK3:98]

The *-ma* causative is frequently used in a number of different contexts, in the speech of young people. Example 7.58 is from a literacy activity in a school Wangkajunga language class designed by a young Wangkajunga teaching assistant.

- 7.58 *Yukiri-ma-rra jalyirr-ø kamu wurrka-ø*
 green-CAUS-IMP leaf-ABS CONJ grass-ABS
 Make the leaves and grass green. [i.e. colour them green] [NBK3:133]

The *-ma* causative is common as a suffix on Kriol words introduced into Wangkajunga. Example 7.59 has a nominalised form *mintimmankunjapinti* used for an introduced implement, a sewing needle.

<i>katim-ma-rra</i>	‘ERG cut ABS’
<i>mintim-ma-rra</i>	‘ERG sew ABS’
<i>nyujing-ma-rra</i>	‘ERG use ABS’
<i>payim-ma-rra</i>	‘ERG buy ABS’
<i>rayitim-ma-rra</i>	‘ERG ride ABS’

tajim-ma-rra ‘ERG touch ABS’

wajim-ma-rra ‘ERG wash ABS’

warrkam-ma-rra ‘ERG work ABS’

7.59 *needle, mintim-ma-nku-nja-pinti, pikwan tuwa-janu*
 needle(E) sew-CAUS-IRR-NOMZ-INSTR big(K) store(E)-ABL

ma-nun-pa-laju free.

get-PST-PA-1plexS free(E)

needles, things for sewing, we got big ones for free from the store [FLBD]

Example 7.60 and 7.61 illustrate the use of the Kriol plus *-ma* forms in a text about the traditional life. In example 7.61 the verb *tajimmarnu* has a verbal root borrowed from English ‘touch’ and extended to mean ‘contact’.

7.60 *Wiya-laju-ngku wajim-mana-ma kalyu-kurlu-lu.*

NEG-1plexS-REFL wash-CAUS-PSTIMP water-HAV-ERG

We wouldn’t have been washing ourselves with water. [DHN]

7.61 *Wiya-laju tajim-ma-rnu road-ø.*

NEG-1plexS touch-CAUS-PST road-ABS.

We didn’t go near the road. [DHN]

7.4.2 The *-ju* causative (CAUS)

The *-ju* causative has the broad semantics of ‘to cause something to be put on, over, around or into something’. The derived verb has similar inflectional suffixes to the simple verb *jurra* ‘put’. Consequently these derived *-ju* causatives are very similar to the compound verbs formed with a preverb plus *jurra*. I have labelled this set *-ju* causatives because;

- i. there is clearly a cause in the meaning of the verb
- ii. the *-ju* suffix changes a nominal to a derived transitive verb.

The imperative form of the compound verbs with *jurra* is *-rra*. The imperative form for the derived verbs with the *-ju* causative is *-jula*. This form is illustrated in example 7.62 with the verb *nintijula* ‘show’. The derived causative verb *nintijula* should be similar to verbs in the *la* class (§8.1). However not all the inflections for this verb fit the *la* class paradigm. This is illustrated in Table 7.2 and in examples 7.62 and 7.63.

Table 7.2: Inflections for *rra* and *la* class verbs and *ju* causatives

Inflection	Inflections for simple verb <i>jurra</i>	Derived verbs with <i>ju</i> causative	Typical <i>la</i> class verb <i>pajala</i> ‘bite’
Imperative	<i>ju-rra</i>	<i>ninti-ju-la</i>	<i>paja-la</i>
Present	<i>jun-in</i>	<i>ninti-jun-in</i>	<i>pajan-in</i>
Future	<i>ju-nku</i>	<i>ninti-ju-nku</i>	<i>paja-lku</i>

Example 7.62 has an imperative consistent with the *la* class but the second example has a future inflection consistent with the *rra* class. The third example indicates that other derived causatives take *la* class imperatives. The verbal inflections are therefore not a means of differentiating between compound verbs with *jurra* and derived *-ju* causative verbs.

- 7.62 *Ninti-ju-la-rni mimi jina.*
 know-CAUS-IMP-1sgO sore foot
 Show me your sore foot. [NBK2:7]
- 7.63 *Ya-nku-nyurran mala-ku skuul-kutu ninti-ju-nku-jananya*
 go-FUT-2plS return-FUT school-ALL know-CAUS-FUT-3plO
jiji-ku wangka jarlu.
 child-DAT language big.
 All of you go back to the school and teach the children the important
 language (English). [NBK3]
- 7.64 *Kurnu-ju-la-ngku*
 sleep-CAUS-IMP-2sgDAT
 Hide yours! [NBK2:33]

The following are examples of the *-ju* suffix with nominals.

<i>yampaly</i> ‘damper’	<i>yampaly-junu</i> ‘put damper in the coals’
<i>kurnu</i> ‘sleep’	<i>kurnu-junku</i> ‘hide something’
<i>ngulyu</i> ‘possession’	<i>ngulyu-junu</i> ‘steal something’
<i>ninti</i> ‘know’	<i>ninti-junu</i> ‘ERG put knowledge into DAT’, ‘teach’
<i>puntu</i> ‘man’	<i>puntu-jurra</i> ‘put yourself in someone’s place, support someone in an argument’
<i>jarla</i> ‘spit, saliva’	<i>jarla-junu</i> ‘spit on something, somebody’
<i>yurnturr</i> ‘clouds’	<i>yurnturr-junu</i> ‘cause clouds to appear’
<i>yuti</i> ‘visible’	<i>yutiyuti-junu</i> ‘put on top of something, put in view’
<i>tapurr</i> ‘hole’	<i>tapurr-jurra</i> ‘put hole into something’
<i>wungku</i> ‘windbreak’	<i>wungku-junu</i> ‘put up a windbreak’
<i>yaliny</i> ‘shoulders’	<i>yaliny-junu</i> ‘put onto the shoulders’
<i>yalka</i> ‘dry’	<i>yalka-junu</i> ‘to put something in the sun to get dry’
<i>purlpurr</i> ‘cover’	<i>purlpurr-junu</i> ‘cover something or somebody with something’

The *-ju* causative can be suffixed to Kriol transitive stems. Example 7.65 shows that the derived verb has an Ergative subject and that the thing worn, *turrirti* ‘dress’, has Absolutive case.

wirrim ‘wear’ (Kriol) *wirrim-junu* ‘put clothes on someone or something’

- 7.65 *Yu-ngun-pa-lanyaju-ya wirrim-ju-nun turrirti-ø Purlta-lu*
 give-PST-PA-1plexO-3plS wear-CAUS-PST dress-ABS name-ERG
Jukuja-lu Yurrpara-lu Milykinyungu-lu
 name-ERG name-ERG name-ERG
 Purlta, Jukuja, Yurrpara and Milykinyungu gave us dresses to wear. [FLBD]

7.4.3 Zero-derived causatives (CAUS)

A great many transitive and a small number of intransitive verbs in Wangkajunga are formed by a zero derivation on nominals to produce *la* class verbs (§8.1). All of the examples, with the exception of *kapukurri*, dream, have stems of two syllables. The derived verb has the same form as a simple verb except that it has an identifiable nominal

stem that is an independent word. The derived verb typically describes an action by an agent subject on an undergoer object. The intransitive verb *marala* is an exception.

My examples indicate that these verbs are most commonly derived from nominals that denote entities rather than attributes. This is illustrated in the following examples.

Body parts

<i>jarna</i> ‘back’	<i>jarnala</i> ‘ERG carry ABS on the back’
<i>mara</i> ‘hand’	<i>marala</i> ‘ABS crawl’

Artefacts

<i>marnma</i> ‘water carrying dish’	<i>marnmala</i> ‘ERG fill a container with ABS’ (water)
<i>mina</i> ‘small wooden dish for scooping water’	<i>minala</i> ‘ERG scoop up ABS’ (water)
<i>tili</i> ‘light, flame’	<i>tilila</i> ‘ERG light ABS’
<i>lilulya</i> ⁹ ‘stick for moving food in the coals’	<i>lilula</i> ‘ERG move ABS (food, coals) with a stick while cooking’

Mental state

<i>kapukurri</i> ‘dream’	<i>kapukurila</i> ‘ERG dream ABS’
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Physical features

<i>puyu</i> ‘smoke’	<i>puyula</i> ‘ERG smoke ABS (cigarette)’
<i>tirnu</i> ‘wad, ball’	<i>tirnula</i> ‘ERG roll up ABS, ERG crush ABS’
<i>wumu</i> ‘a heap’	<i>wumula</i> ‘ERG make ABS (heap of things)’

Attributes

<i>ninti</i> ‘knowing’	<i>nintila</i> ‘ERG show ABS, ERG know ABS’
<i>palya</i> ‘good’	<i>palyala</i> ‘ERG create ABS’
<i>wanka</i> ‘alive’	<i>wankala</i> ‘ERG fix ABS (animate)’

The following examples illustrate the use of the nominal forms with the derived transitive verb forms *wankala*, *marnmala* and *minala*. Example 7.66 and 7.68 show that *wankala* and *marnmala* select Ergative subjects and 7.68 illustrates *marnmarnu* with an Absolutive object. Examples 7.67 and 7.69 show the nominal and the verb derived from the nominal in the same sentence.

- 7.66 *Maparn-ju-rni wankan-in.*
 doctor-ERG-1sgO alive-PRES
 The doctor is treating me. [FAX1]
- 7.67 *Ya-nu-pula marnma-rnu marnma-ngka.*
 go-PST-3dIS fill.with.water-PST wooden.dish-LOC
 The two of them went and filled water into the big wooden dish. [SWPM1]
- 7.68 *Tuju-lu jawa-rnu marnma-rnu kalyu-ø juljul-ø*
 woman-ERG dig-PST fill.with.water water-ABS soak-ABS
 The woman dug and filled up with water from the soak. [NBK3:80]

⁹ The *-pa* on this word is an epenthetic syllable that is not added before the *-la* verbal inflection. The final palatal lateral consonant of *liluly* is deleted before the *-la* inflection as */lyl/* is a prohibited consonant cluster.

- 7.69 *Minan-ma-laju* *mina-kurlu-lu.*
 scoop.water-PSTHB-1plexS small.wooden.dish-HAV-ERG
 We would be scooping up the water with a little wooden dipper. [DHM]

Sound emission verbs can also be formed by zero derivation and take *la* class inflections. This is illustrated by the following example about whistling.

- 7.70 *Yumu-rna winpura-nin-pa.*
 just-1sgS whistle-PRES-PA
 Nothing, I'm just whistling for nothing. [NBK2:21]

7.5 Derivational suffixes – verbs with single arguments

7.5.1 The inchoative suffix *-arri, -rri* (INCH)

Wangkajunga is like many Australian languages in that predicators that describe states, for example; 'born', 'alive', 'dead', 'rotten', 'cold' or 'melted', are nominals not verbs (§10.2). Process or change-of-state verbs are created by the addition of the inchoative suffix *-rri* and *-arri* to nominals. The inchoative suffix occurs on common nominals, attribute nominals such as *jarlu* 'big' and *puta* 'bad', temporal and spatial modifiers and question words. The resulting verb is intransitive and takes Absolutive marked subjects.

The imperative inflection for these derived verbs is *-wa*, although the inflectional paradigm is not consistent with the *-wa* class of verbs (§8.1).

The two forms of the inchoative are phonologically conditioned. The form *-rri* is affixed to vowel final stems and the form *-arri* to consonant final stems. The following examples illustrate the two forms.

Vowel final stems

- jarlu-rri-wa* 'ABS grow'
 big-INCH-IMP
miitu-rri-wa 'ABS die'
 dead-INCH-IMP
palja-rri-wa 'ABS become full'
 full-INCH-IMP

Consonant final stems

- kuljirr-arri-wa* 'ABS become angry'
 anger-INCH-IMP
minjil-arri-wa 'ABS become orphaned'
 orphan-INCH-IMP
jirraly-arri-wa 'ABS become slippery'
 slippery-INCH-IMP

The inchoative can be attached to a derived nominal stem. The example 7.71 has a common nominal suffixed by the privative nominal derivational affix *-parni* to produce the derived form *wangkaparni* 'without speech'. A verbal direction prefix plus a verbal derivation morpheme can also be the stem for an inchoative suffix. This is illustrated by example 7.72 where the inchoative suffix is attached to the action derivation *-ti* which is prefixed by the direction prefix *maa-*.

- 7.71 *Wangka-parni-rri-wa*
 word-PRIV-INCH-IMP
 Stop talking! [NBK2:166]
- 7.72 *maa-ti-rri-n* *jarrpa-ø*
 DIR-ACT-INCH-PRES enter-IMP
 going away right through [SWPN]

The nature of the change-of-state is varied. It can be a change from one psychological state to another or a degree of physiological change. The following examples illustrate the inchoative suffix with common nominals, attribute nominals, qualifiers, direction words and introduced words.

common nominal-inchoative

- puntu-rrri-* (man-INCH-) 'ABS become a man, be initiated'
minjil-arri- (orphan-INCH) 'ABS become an orphan, be bereft'

attribute nominal-inchoative

- kurnu-rrri-* (quiet-INCH) 'ABS become quiet'
pika-rrri- (anger-INCH) 'ABS become angry'

qualifier nominal-inchoative

- wala-rrri-* (haste-INCH) 'hurry'
malaku-rrri- (return-INCH) 'return'

direction-inchoative

- kayili-rrri-* (north-INCH) 'turn around to the north'

words introduced from English and Kriol-inchoative

- turayipul-arri* (dry-become) 'dry out'
yaliti-rrri (holiday-become) 'become holiday time'
born-arri (born-become) 'be born'
tall-arri (tall-become) 'grow tall'

7.5.1.1 Change of physiological state inchoatives

The degree of change indicated by an inchoative derived verb can be quite radical as in example 7.73 where the change is a physiological one from non-existence to birth. Other changes of state can be more gradual from health to sickness or coolness to warmth. The change could be from some point of ignorance to a gaining of knowledge. The following sample sentences give the context for the derived change of physiological state inchoatives.

- jarlu-rrri-* (big-INCH) 'ABS grow'
miitu-rrri- (dead-INCH) 'ABS die'
mungarri-rrri- (dark-INCH) 'ABS become night, get dark'
ngalpu-rrri- (play-INCH) 'ABS play'
palya-rrri- (good-INCH) 'ABS get better, improve'
puta-rrri- (bad-INCH) 'ABS decay'
waru-rrri (fire-INCH) 'ABS become hot, heat'
yuti-rrri- (visible-INCH) 'ABS be born'
yunmi-rr- (burnt-INCH) 'ABS be cooked'
yalta-rrri- (cold-INCH) 'ABS become cool'

- 7.73 *Yuti-rrri-ngu-rna jii-ngka-ngulyu puntu-rrri-ngu.*
 visible-INCH-PST-1sgS DEM-LOC-CERT person-INCH-PST
 I came into the world, was born, right there. [PNTGS]

- 7.74 *Nyina-ngu-pula pawu-rnu yunmi-rri-ngu.*
 stay-PST-3dIS cook-PST cooked-INCH-PST
 They stayed there and cooked it until it was ready. [SWPM]
- 7.75 *Kurrpi-rnu-rna-ju kalyu-kurlu-lu yalta-rri-ngu.*
 sprinkle-PST-1sgS-1sgREFL water-HAV-ERG cold-INCH-PST
 I splashed myself with water and got cool. [NBK3:101]
- 7.76 *Jiji-ø ngalpu-rri-n-pa-ya tali-ngka.*
 child-ABS play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS sandhill-LOC
 The children are playing in the sandhills. [SWPM]

7.5.1.2 Change of emotional state inchoatives

A common means of describing events about emotional states is the addition of the inchoative to nominals denoting emotions such as happiness, sadness, anger, moodiness or fear.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>pika-rri-</i> (anger-INCH) | ‘ABS become angry with DAT’ |
| <i>ngurlu-rri-</i> (fear-INCH) | ‘ABS become afraid’ |
| <i>makimaki-rri-</i> (happy-INCH) | ‘become excited’ |
| <i>kuljirr-arri-</i> (sulky-INCH) | ‘ABS sulk’ |
| <i>yikari-rri-</i> (happy-INCH) | ‘ABS smile’ |
| <i>yumu-rri-</i> (nothing-INCH) | ‘ABS acquiesce’ |

The following examples illustrate the use of the inchoatives for becoming angry, afraid, excited and sulky. Example 7.77 illustrates the Absolutive-Dative argument structure of the derived verb *pikarringu* ‘ABS become angry with DAT’.

- 7.77 *Pika-rri-ngu-rna-janampa jiji-rti-ku.*
 anger-INCH-PST-1sgS-3plDAT child-PL-DAT
 I got angry with the children. [NBK2:200]
- 7.78 *Jiji-kujarra-pula-ra ngurlu-rri-n-pa wirta-ku.*
 child-DUAL-3dIS-3sgDAT fear-INCH-PRES-PA dog-DAT
 The two children are frightened of the dog. [NBK3:157]
- 7.79 *Maki-maki-rri-ma-ya purtipulawa.*
 happy-RDP-INCH-PSTIMP-3plS flowers (K)
 They were getting excited about the flowers. [KNG]
- 7.80 *Kuljirr-arri-ngu mani-jiraja.*
 sulk-INCH-PST money(E)-PRIV
 He got sulky about being without money. [NBK3:100]

7.5.1.3 Inchoatives describing changes in mental states

Derived inchoative verbs also describe changes in mental states. These examples describe a change from a lack of knowledge to a gain in knowledge, and the reverse, from knowledge to a lack of knowledge. The reduplication of the nominal *yurtu* ‘unaware’ in example 7.81 intensifies its meaning.

- yurti-rri-* (unaware-INCH) ‘ABS forget’
ngurrpa-rri- (ignorant-INCH) ‘ABS become unknowing’
ninti-rri- (knowledge-INCH) ‘ABS become knowledgeable about DAT’

7.81 *Tuju-ra ninti-rri-rra Wangkajunga-ku nyi-nin-pa*
 woman-3sgDAT knowing-INCH-IMP language.name-DAT stay-PRES-PA
ngaa-ngka.
 DEM-LOC
 The woman who is learning Wangkajunga lives here. [NBK3:81]

7.82 *Yurtu-yurtu-rri-ngu-rna.*
 unaware-RDP-INCH-1sgS
 I’ve forgotten. [NBK2:245]

7.5.1.4 Passage of time inchoatives

The passage of time is often indicated by the derived inchoative. In the following examples, *mungarriwa* ‘become dark’, describes a change over a matter of hours, while the example *yalitirriwa* ‘holiday time’, describes a change of time over months. These time inchoative forms can have ‘empty’ subjects comparable to the English expression ‘It got dark’.¹⁰ I describe them with another verb as in 7.83 as ambient change serial verb constructions in §9.2.4. In example 7.84 the first person plural bound pronoun ‘we’ is the subject of *yalatirringu*.

- munga-rri-* (dark-INCH) ‘ABS becomes dark’
yalati-rri- (holiday(K)-INCH) ‘ABS becomes holiday’

7.83 *Parra-wana-rnu-laju munga-rri-ngu nyupa-rarra-kujupa.*
 around-follow-PST-1plexS dark-INCH-PST spouse-PAIR-ANOTH
 When it got dark we followed another couple. [DHN]

7.84 *yalati-rri-ngu-laju, yana-ma-laju Kunjipak-kutu yalati*
 holiday-INCH-PST-1plexS go-PSTHB-1plexS Koonjie.Park-ALL holiday
 When we got to the holidays, we used to go to Koonjie Park on holiday. [DHN]

Other derived inchoative verbs are common questions. These examples are used with the rising intonation typical of questions. (See also §12.2)

7.85 *Palya-rri-ngu-n*
 good-INCH-PST-2sgS
 Are you better?

The derived inchoative verbs in the imperative form are common instructions.

7.86 *Kayili-rri-ku*
 north-INCH-FUT
 Turn to the north

7.87 *Kurnu-rri-wa*
 quiet-INCH-IMP
 Be quiet

¹⁰ An argument for the existence of a grammatical Subject in Wangkajunga is found in §10.5.

- 7.88 *Wala-rri-wa*
quick-INCH-IMP
Hurry up

7.5.1.5 Question words and *-rri*

A common means of asking ‘where’ questions in Wangkajunga is to add the inchoative to an interrogative form (§5.3). In the following examples the inchoative is suffixed to the interrogatives *wanjal* and *jaatu*.

- 7.89 *Wanjal-arri-n-pa-npula?*
INTERR-INCH-PRES-PA-2dIS
What are you two doing?
- 7.90 *Jaatu-rri-ngu-pa?*
INTERR-INCH-PST-PA
What did he do?

7.5.2 The derivational *-ti* (ACT)

The derivational suffix *-ti* follows nominals and intransitive stems and the resulting verbs remain intransitive. It is suffixed to nominals, directional affixes (§7.6) and intransitive verbs. The *-ti* affix changes a position or stance into an action.

Nominals

- jarlirr-ti*- (head-ACT-) ‘ABS carry water on the head’
jarna-ti- (back-ACT-) ‘ABS carry on the back’

Verbs

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>nyina-ti</i> (sit-ACT-) | ‘ABS sit down’ |
| <i>wangurra-ti</i> (sway/wag-ACT-) | ‘ABS wag’ (as a Willy Wagtail) |
| <i>tirri-ti</i> (climb-ACT-) | ‘ABS climb down |
| <i>parra-wangurra-ti</i> (around-wag-ACT) | ‘ABS wag around ACS’ |
| <i>tupurlngara-ti</i> (submerge-stand-ACT-) | ‘ABS stand up in water’ |
| <i>wanti-ti</i> (stop-ACT-) | ‘ABS jump’ |
| <i>yampu-ngara-ti</i> (side-stand-ACT-) | ‘ABS surround’ |

Directional prefix

- parra-parra-ti* (around-RDP-ACT-) ‘ABS chase around ACS’

- 7.91 *Jii-jananya parra-wangurra-ti-n-pa ngapi jirntirrjirntirr-pa-ø*,
DEM-3plACS DIR-wag-ACT-PRES-PA HES Willy.Wagtail-PA-ABS
That one, the um, Willy Wagtail is wagging around them. [SWPN1]
- 7.92 *Pina-marta nyina-ti-wa*
far-MOD sit-ACT-IMP
Sit down on that farther one. [NBK2:239]
- 7.93 *Ngana-ku-rni-n parra-parra-ti-n*.
what-PURP-1sgACS-2sgS around-RDP-ACT-PRES
Why are you chasing me round and round? [NBK2:238]

- 7.94 *Ya-rra-ya mimi-kurlu tupurl-ngara-ti-wa kalyu-ngka.*
 go-PSTHB-3plS sore-HAV swim-stand-ACT-NARPST water-LOC
 The ones with sores would go and stand in the water. [SWPM]

7.5.3 Sound emission verbs

A productive set of derived verbs describing the sounds made by people and animals is formed by the addition of *-ma* to an onomatopoeic stem (§3.6). The resulting verbs take the *n* class inflections. These verbs are generally intransitive.

Examples 7.95 and 7.96 illustrate the homophony of the sound emission *-ma* suffix with the causative *-ma*. The example, *nguunmarra*, ‘grunt’, is a semi-transitive verb with an Ergative subject and Dative complement. The sound is being used as a communication similar to a speech sound. As the other verbs in this set have Absolutive subjects it is possible that, in this example, the suffix *-ma* has a causative function.

- murr-ma-nin* ‘making a sound like an engine’
ngaan-ma-nin ‘making a sound like breathe, breathing’
nguun-ma-nin ‘ABS making a grunting sound at DAT’
yiin-ma-nin ‘making a whistling sound’
turl-ma-nin ‘making a banging sound’
pawul-ma-nin ‘ABS calling out to DAT’

- 7.95 *Ngana-ø yiin-ma-rnu.*
 INDEF-ABS sound-EMIT-PST
 Who was whistling? [NBK2:9]

- 7.96 *Tuju-lu-ra nguun-ma-nin-pa kartiya-ku.*
 woman-ERG-3sgDAT grunt-EMIT-PRES-PA European-DAT
 The woman is sniggering at the white man. [NBK2:84]

7.6 Directional affixes

There are three directional affixes *maa-*, *parra-* and *-ni*. The former are affixed to the beginnings of verbs and *-ni* to the end. All three indicate direction. They are labelled directional affixes rather than preverbs because they have some distributional differences from preverbs. The three points below list the differences between directional affixes and preverbs.

1. Directional affixes can be prefixed to a compound verb already formed by the addition of a preverb to a verb. For example, *parra-kawan-kati-ngu* ‘move around stupidly’, *parra-wangurra-ti-n-pa* ‘move around while wagging’.
2. Directional affixes can be prefixed to particles (§10.6). For example, *parra-putu* ‘around in vain’.
3. Directional affixes can form complex verbs with the verbal derivational suffix followed by verbal inflections. There need be no verbal root. For example, *parra-parra-ti-n* ‘round and round’, *maa-ti-rri-n* ‘start going back’.

7.6.1 *parra*- ‘around’

The affix *parra* indicates a movement around or across. It has a wider distribution than either *maa*- or *-ni*. It can be prefixed to a verb as in example 7.97.

- 7.97 *Wala-wana parra-ya-nin kawan-kawan.*
lake-PERL around-go-PRES stupid-RDP.
The stupid thing is going all the way around the lake. [SWPN]

The form *parra* can also occur before a clitic. In this example it acts as an independent word followed by the third person singular Dative clitic *-ra*.

- 7.98 *Parra-ra ngurri-nu.*
around-3sgDAT search-PST
She looked all around for it. [SWPN]

In example 7.99 *parra* occurs before the particle *purtu* ‘in vain’ and in example 7.100 it follows the same particle. In example 7.100 the derived verb with *parra* has a Dative argument.

- 7.99 *Parra purtu watiju-nu.*
around in vain track-PST
She tracked it everywhere in vain. [SWPN]
- 7.100 *Purtu parra-ngu-laju-ra road-ku.*
in.vain around-PST-1plexS-3sgDAT road-DAT
We went around after the road in vain. [KNG]

Example 7.101 has *parra*- reduplicated and prefixed to the verb *yanin* ‘going’. Goddard (1985) mentions that reduplication of these directional affixes indicates plurality and dispersion of the entity. In the context of the following example it could refer to both plurality and dispersion.

- 7.101 *Punta-ya parra-parra-ya-nin-pa-wu.*
small.fish-3plS around-around-go-PRES-PA-VOC
The little fish are swimming everywhere! [NBK3:123]

Example 7.102, repeated from 7.93, *parra*- is reduplicated and prefixed to the derived affix *-ti* which then takes the verbal inflections. This verb with the *-ti*- Action suffix has two arguments.

- 7.102 *Ngana-ku-rni-n parra-parra-ti-n.*
what-PURP-1sgO-2sgS around-RDP-ACT-PRES
Why are you chasing me round and round? [NBK2:238]

7.6.2 *maa*- ‘away from’

The directional prefix *maa*- is prefixed to simple and compound verbs to add the meaning ‘away from the speaker’. It is commonly found on motion verbs such as *maajunu* ‘leave behind’, *maamurrkati* ‘move something away’, *maayurntala* ‘push something away’ or *maapalila* ‘shut something up’. In the first example it is prefixed to a simple verb. In the second it forms the base for the pronominal clitic cluster *-jura-ya*.

- 7.103 *Maa-yan-in-pa yawurta.*
away-go-PRES-PA horse
The horse is going away. [NBK2:234]

- 7.104 *Maa-jura-ya murrkati.*
 away-1sgABL-3sgS move.away
 They moved away [from me]. [NBK2:234]

This prefix undergoes a phonological change (§2.4.3.5) when prefixed to *wirrjala* ‘run’.

- 7.105 *Palawarraku mawu-rrjan-in.*
 that.way.distant away-run-PRES
 He is running away over that way. [NBK2:234]

7.6.3 -ni ‘towards the speaker’

The directional suffix *-ni* meaning ‘towards the speaker’ follows the inflectional suffixes of the verb. Warlpiri has a similar suffix *-rni* that attaches to verbs or preverbs.

- 7.106 *Wala wirrja-la-ni ngayu-kutu.*
 quickly run-IMP-DIR 1sg-All
 Quickly, run to me! [NBK2:234]
- 7.107 *kuka-kurlu-pula yan-in-pa mama kamu yipi, nyarra*
 game-HAV-3dIS go-PRES-PA father CONJ mother DEM
yan-in-pa-ni malaku
 go-PRES-PA-DIR return
 Mum and Dad are coming with the game, over there, coming back this way. [SWPM]

7.6.4 wati- ‘across’

I have recorded one example of the affix *wati-*. Goddard (1985) has this as a directional prefix meaning ‘across’ in Yankunytjatjara and Marsh (1992) has it as a directional prefix in Manyjilyjarra meaning ‘across’ and ‘beside’. Example 7.108 is the single occurrence of this prefix in the corpus.

- 7.108 *Wati-wirrja-rnu-rni jii-janu.*
 across-run-PST-1sgO DEM-ABL
 It ran across to me from there. [NBK2:100]

7.7 Post-inflectional suffixes

7.7.1 -nirra ‘group’ (GRP)

The suffix *-nirra* occurs after the inflectional suffixes on verbs and is only used for animate referents. It does not occur on nominals. It can be translated as ‘group’.

- 7.109 *Ya-nku-nirra-ya mankarl-kujupa jelp-jelp*
 go-FUT-GRP-3plexS grass-ANOTH alone(K)-RDP
 The whole lot of them will go to another clump of grass, by themselves,
 [without the mother]. [SWPN]
- 7.110 *Ya-nku-nirra-laju.*
 go-FUT-GRP-1plexS
 The whole gang of us is going. [NBK2]

7.7.2 *-ka* completed action (COMPL)

The suffix *-ka* follows the verbal inflections and describes the action of the verb as completed. In the following example the opening action of the flowers is completed. This suffix is homophonous with the conjunction *ka* but can be distinguished from it. The completed action suffix follows the verb immediately and, unlike the conjunction, does not receive primary stress.

- 7.111 *Ngarr-in mirra-rnu-ka partiri yangka nantu-janu.*
 lie-PRES open-PST-COMPL flowers DEM seeds-ABL
 The flowers that the seeds are from, are right open and are lying there. [SWPN]

7.7.3 *-rta* warning (WARN)

The form *-rta* following verbal inflections issues a warning to the addressee.

- 7.112 *Paja-lku-rta-ju-ya*
 bite-FUT-WARN-1sgDAT-3plS
 They might bite me. [NBK3:28]

7.8 Comparisons of numbers of simple verbs and of verb roots in the northern Western Desert

In this section I make some comparisons between verb morphology in Wangkajunga and the other north western languages of the Western Desert and the southern languages of the Western Desert. These are then compared with four non-Western Desert neighbouring languages of the north west.

7.8.1 Numbers of simple verbs

To obtain the numbers for the northern Western Desert group and Pintupi I have counted the numbers of simple verbs in the Dictionaries that have been produced for each of the languages. The fact that verbs can be formed by zero derivation confuses the numbers slightly as the form of simple verbs and zero derived verbs are similar. If there was a discernible nominal that indicated a zero derivation then the verb was not counted as a simple verb. The corpus for Kukatja and Manyjilyjarra and Pintupi is considerably larger than for Wangkajunga and Yulparija. The sources for this information form a separate list headed 'Main sources of information on Western Desert languages and the four Northern non-Western Desert languages' which appears before the main list of references for the grammar. In this section I also consulted Nash (1982) about the numbers of preverbs. The numbers are useful to show that the numbers of simple verbs in this group are larger than those of the non-Western Desert group but not as large as for the southern Western Desert group.

<i>Non-Western Desert</i>		<i>Northern Western Desert</i>		<i>Southern Western Desert</i>	
Warlpiri	45	Yulparija	83	Ngaanyatjarra	150+
Jaru	40	Wangkajunga	63	Pitjantjatjara	200+
Walmajarri	35	Kukatja	115	Yankunytjatjara	236+
Nyangumarta	197	Manyjilyjarra	116	Gugada	no data
		Pintupi	160		

7.8.2 Verb roots in the northern Western Desert languages

Table 7.3 compares a number of verb roots for the four northern languages of the Western Desert. The lists may not be complete.

Table 7.3: Verb roots in the northern Western Desert languages and Pintupi

Yulparija	Wangkajunga	Kukatja	Manyjilyjarra	Pintupi
		<i>jingala</i> 'do'	<i>jala</i> 'do'	<i>jarra</i> 'eat'
		<i>jingala</i> 'do'	<i>jingala</i> 'do'	<i>jingala</i> 'do'
<i>jurra</i> 'put'	<i>jurra</i> 'put'	<i>jurra</i> 'put'	<i>jurra, jula</i> 'put'	<i>jurra, jula</i> 'put'
<i>kawa</i> 'carry'	<i>kawa</i> 'carry'		<i>kawa</i> 'take'	
<i>kati</i> 'take'	<i>kati</i> 'take'	<i>kati</i> 'take'	<i>kati</i> 'take'	<i>kati</i> 'take'
<i>kanyila</i> 'have'	<i>kanyila</i> 'have'	<i>kanyila</i> 'have'	<i>kanyila</i> 'have'	<i>kanyila</i> 'have'
<i>kulila</i> 'listen'	<i>kulila</i> 'listen'	<i>kulila</i> 'listen'	<i>kulila</i> 'listen'	<i>kulila</i> 'hear'
<i>marra</i> 'get'	<i>marra</i> 'get'	<i>marra</i> 'get'	<i>mala</i> 'get'	<i>marra</i> 'get'
<i>nyawa</i> 'see'	<i>nyawa</i> 'see'	<i>nyawa</i> 'see'	<i>nyawa</i> 'see'	<i>nyawa</i> 'see'
<i>pajala</i> 'bite'	<i>pajala</i> 'bite'	<i>pajala</i> 'bite'	<i>pajala</i> 'bite'	<i>pajala</i> 'bite'
<i>puwa</i> 'hit'	<i>puwa</i> 'hit'	<i>puwa</i> 'hit'	<i>puwa</i> 'hit'	<i>puwa</i> 'hit'
			<i>mula</i> 'do'	
<i>yarra</i> 'go'	<i>yarra</i> 'go'	<i>yarra</i> 'go'	<i>yarra</i> 'go'	<i>yarra</i> 'go'
			<i>yiki</i> 'stand'	
<i>ngarri</i> 'lie'	<i>ngarri</i> 'lie'	<i>ngarri</i> 'lie'	<i>ngarri</i> 'lie'	<i>ngarri</i> 'lie'
<i>ngara</i> 'stand'	<i>ngara</i> 'stand'	<i>ngara</i> 'stand'	<i>ngara</i> 'stand'	<i>ngara</i> 'stand'
<i>nyina</i> 'sit'	<i>nyina</i> 'sit'	<i>nyina</i> 'sit'	<i>nyina</i> 'sit'	<i>nyina</i> 'sit'
<i>pakala</i> 'get up'	<i>pakala</i> 'get up'	<i>pakala</i> 'get up'	<i>pakala</i> 'get up'	<i>pakala</i> 'get up'
<i>wanala</i> 'follow'	<i>wanala</i> 'follow'	<i>wanala</i> 'follow'	<i>wanala</i> 'follow'	<i>wanala</i> 'follow'
<i>wangka</i> 'talk'	<i>wangka</i> 'talk'	<i>wangka</i> 'talk'	<i>wangka</i> 'talk'	<i>wangka</i> 'talk'

8 *Verb inflectional morphology*

Introduction

Inflectional morphology on verbs provides information about the timing of an event, about the internal structure of the timing of the event and about speakers' attitudes to the event. Wangkajunga inflections vary according to four different verbal classes. In this chapter the verbs are first identified according to their conjugation classes and then the meanings of the tense, aspect and mood inflections are discussed.

Section 8.1 describes the membership of the four conjugation classes. Section 8.2 is an overview of the verbal inflections and §8.3 has a short description of each of the inflections. In §8.4 I outline the inflections that follow the irrealis marker and in §8.5 I give a brief account of the negative verbs. There is a broader discussion of negation in §12.3. Section 8.6 has some comparisons of the verbal inflections in the languages of the Western Desert and four of the northern neighbours of the Western Desert.

8.1 Conjugation classes

The verbal inflections in Wangkajunga fall into four classes recognised by the imperative form of the verb. These are illustrated below. The verbs are unevenly distributed across the four classes. In this section I discuss the distribution of the verbs in the four classes.

Conjugation Class	- \emptyset	-wa	-rra	-la
Imperative form of sample verb	<i>nyina</i> - \emptyset	<i>pu</i> -wa	<i>ya</i> -rra	<i>paja</i> -la

8.1.1 Conjugation class 1 \emptyset class

The imperative form, zero, is used to mark this conjugation class. The class contains:

- i. a small number of the simple verbs, mainly intransitive, of two or more syllables. The intransitive examples are the three stance verbs *nyina* 'sit', *ngara* 'stand', *ngarri* 'lie'; the motion verb *jarrpa* 'enter', an action verb *wanti* 'leave' plus the locution verb *yula* 'cry'. This class also has the extended intransitive *wangka* 'speak' which takes an optional dative argument. Examples of transitive verbs in this set are the action verb *kati* 'take' or 'carry', and the ambi-transitive process verb *kampa* 'heat, burn or cook'.

- ii. a number of intransitive compound verbs. For example; the motion verbs *tupurlngarri* ‘swim’, *warinkati* ‘arrive’, and *malakati* ‘return’.
- iii. the intransitive compound verbs formed with English and Kriol nominals and Wangkajunga intransitive verbs. For example *grow-ngarri* ‘grow’.

8.1.2 Conjugation class 2 *wa* class

I have divided this class into two because of the difference in the future tense inflections between the two sub-classes.

Class 2a contains;

- i. three monomorphemic verbs, all with monosyllabic roots, the transitive *pu* ‘hit’, transitive *ka* ‘carry’ and ditransitive *yu* ‘give’.
- ii. a large number of transitive compounds formed with *pu*. Examples are the transitive action verbs where the object argument is somehow affected by the action: *palipu* ‘find’, *wirrupu* ‘throw away’, and *kaalypu* ‘blows cold over’. This set also contains the transitive cognition verb *milyapu* ‘recognise’.
- iii. the intransitive verbs to do with bodily functions; *jawulupu* ‘yawn’, *nyitanjipu* ‘hiccup’ and the transitive bodily function verb *kinilpu* ‘cough’. The ambitransitive action verb *nyanpipu* ‘dance (women)’ is also in this class.
- iv. the intransitive verbs derived by means of the action derivation *-ti*. Examples of these verbs *nyinati* ‘sit down’ and *tupurlngarati* ‘stand up in water’.

Class 2b contains;

- i. the monomorphemic transitive verb, also with a monosyllabic root, *nya* ‘see’. This verb has the same class marker and imperative form as the verbs *pu* and *yu* but *nya* has an irregular form in the future tense (§8.2.3)
- ii. the large number of intransitive derived verbs formed with the inchoative *-arri/-rri*. These verbs are like *nya* in that they have a similar form in the imperative to *pu* and *yu*, but a different form in the future perfective tense. The inflection for the future tense for the *-wa* class is *-ngku* whereas the future form for these inchoative derived verbs is *-ku*. In the present tense form the high front vowel of the inflection *-in* is deleted after the inchoative. Examples of nominal plus inchoative include; *jarlu-rri* (big-INCH) ‘grow’, *minjil-arri* (orphan-INCH) ‘become orphaned’, *palya-rri* (good-INCH) ‘be repaired’ or ‘healed’, *pika-rri* (anger-INCH) ‘get angry’, *puta-rri* (bad-INCH) ‘decay’, and *yuti-rri* (visible-INCH) ‘be born’.
- iii. the small number of intransitive derived verbs formed with the inchoative *-arri/-rri* attached to Kriol or English nominals and verbs. Examples of these verbs are *born-arri* (born-INCH) ‘born’, *drypala-rri* (dry-INCH) ‘dry out’.

8.1.3 Conjugation class 3 *rra* class

The imperative inflection for this class is *rra*. The class contains;

- i. the three monomorphemic verbs with monosyllabic roots: one intransitive, *ya* ‘go’, two transitive, *ma* ‘get’ and *ju* ‘put’ and the compound verbs formed with *ju* and *ya*. For example the transitive verbs *tuwunju* ‘cover up’, ‘bury’, the semi-transitive *watiju* ‘track’, and the intransitive *tuulya* ‘choke’ and *rurrurtunya* ‘roll along, roll down a hill’.
- ii. the small number of polysyllabic verbs which have *ja* as the final syllable of the stem. For example the transitive verbs *yilpurra* ‘to suck’, *japalja* ‘to chew’.
- iii. the derived transitive verbs introduced from Kriol and suffixed with *-ma*. These are mostly action verbs which describe events not encountered in the speakers’ traditional desert lives. Examples of these verbs are; *mintim-ma*¹ ‘sew’, *lujim-ma* ‘lose’, *mitim-ma* ‘meet’, *openim-ma* ‘open’, *rideim-ma* ‘ride’, *ringap-ma* ‘telephone’, *tajim-ma* ‘touch’, *wajim-ma* ‘wash’, *warrkim-ma* ‘to work’, *wirrim-ma* ‘wear’.
- iv. the onomatopoeic sound emission verbs formed with *-ma*. These are mostly intransitive, with the exception of *ngunma* ‘grunt at’ (§7.5.3) Examples include *yiinma* ‘whistle’ *ngaanmanin* ‘breathe’ and *paalma* ‘call out’.

8.1.4 Conjugation class 4 *la* class

This class has the largest number of simple verbs. The imperative inflection is ‘*la*’. My sample of these verbs contains;

- i. the ditransitive verb *yiya* ‘send’, about 46 simple transitive verbs, six semi-transitive verbs and four simple intransitive verbs and an indefinite number of compound and complex verbs based on these roots. All the verbal roots in this class have two or more syllables. The transitive examples are largely process verbs such as; *jinka* ‘soften’, *kunta* ‘cut’, *manji* ‘collect’, *nyurlka* ‘stir’, *pali* ‘knead’, *pawu* ‘cook’, *warra* ‘gather’, *warru* ‘cover’, *wini* ‘pull up’, *yatu* ‘scrape out’, *yila* ‘pull’, *yinti* ‘pour’, *yirpi* ‘insert’, *yunka* ‘shoot, blow, grind’, *yuntu* ‘push’, *waka* ‘spear’, *paja* ‘bite’. Intransitive examples are the motion verbs *wirra* ‘run’, *tati* ‘climb’, *paka* ‘get up’, *punka* ‘fall’. This set also includes the verbs of speech that take an ergative subject and dative complements: *japi* ‘ask’, *waja* ‘say’, *wata* ‘tell’, *warrki* ‘growl’ and *witu* ‘call over’.
- ii. the small number of transitive and intransitive compounds such as intransitive *wantijalka* ‘to jump over’, *parrpaka* ‘to fly away’, *tikalpaka* ‘to climb up’, and the transitive *yampukanyi* ‘to hug’.
- iii. the large number of zero derived verbs, both transitive and intransitive. This set includes a wide range of verbs derived from nominals. For example the transitive action verbs *marnma* ‘fill it with water’, *mina* ‘dip into it’, *jarnala* ‘carry on the back’ and *wumu* ‘heap up’; the transitive process verbs such as *palya* ‘make’, *tili* ‘light it’ and *wanka* ‘cure it’, and the semi-transitive cognition verb *ninti* ‘to show’. The intransitive verb in this set is the motion verb *marala* ‘crawl’.

¹ These forms consist of the Kriol transitive marker *-im* followed by the Wangkajunga *-ma* causative. Orthographically they are <mm> although phonetically the two sounds are pronounced as [m].

Table 8.1 gives the numbers of transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, semi-transitive and extended intransitive verbs for the four conjugation classes based on a sample of 200 derived, compound and simple verbs. The sample is 100 verbs from the beginning and 100 verbs from the end of a list of 317 verbs.

Table 8.1: Conjugation class membership and transitivity

	- \emptyset	- <i>wa</i>	- <i>rra</i>	- <i>la</i>	TOTAL
transitive ERG-ABS	2	14	27	66	109
intransitive ABS-	11	42	20	10	83
ditransitive ERG-ABS-ABS ERG-ABS-DAT		1		1	2
semi-transitive ERG-DAT			1	4	5
extended intransitive ABS-DAT	1				1
TOTAL	14	57	48	81	200

8.2 The inflections

8.2.1 Inflectional paradigms

Table 8.2 sets out sample lexemes with the inflections for each of the four verb classes. The inflections are underlined. The inflections are divided into four groups: perfective, imperfective, irrealis and serial and nominalised inflections. The groups are divided mainly on the basis of the semantics but also by their paradigmatic comparability. The perfective group of inflections contains those referring to events that are seen as complete. The imperfective group of inflections has those referring to ongoing events. All the inflections in the irrealis group refer to events that are potential but have not actually happened. The nominalised and the serial forms are together because they indicate syntactic rather than temporal or modal functions. The phonological conditioning of the forms of the inflections are discussed in §2.4 and mentioned briefly below.

Perfective

The perfective has the disyllabic stems *nyina* in the \emptyset class and *paja* in the *la* class and one syllable forms *pu-* in the *wa* class, and *ya-* in the *rra* class. The forms for the imperative are as noted above, \emptyset , *-wa*, *-rra* and *-la*. The past perfective is *-ngu* for the \emptyset and *wa* classes and *-nu* and *-rnu* for the *rra* and *la* classes. An alternative form with a final alveolar nasal occurs in some texts (see §8.2.1.1 below). The perfective future is *-ku* for the \emptyset class, *-ngku* for the *wa* class, *-nku* for the *rra* class and *-lku* for the *la* class.

Imperfective

The stem for the imperfective group is disyllabic for all classes and for the sample lexemes these are *nyina*, *punga*, *yana* and *pajan*. Goddard (1985:90) notes a suggestion from Koch (1981) and Evans (1981) that the forms similar to **punga* in Yankunytjatjara could have been inflected words in an ancestral language and the present day form results from ‘double marking’.

The present tense is grouped with imperfective because of the non-completive meaning of ‘present’ and because the stem form is the same as the imperfective before the deletion of the final vowel. The inflection for the present tense is *-in* for all classes. The final vowel

of the stem is deleted before the present tense inflection *-in* in classes 1, 2 and 3 as the language doesn't have sequences of vowels (§2.4). Thus *nyina*>*nyina/-in*, *punga*>*pung/-in*, *yana*>*yan/-in*.

The inflection for the imperfective is *-ma* in the past imperfective and imperative imperfective and *-mal* for the future imperfective.

Irrealis

In the *wa* and *rra* classes the irrealis inflections are attached to a stem that is homophonous with the future perfective. These forms are *pungku* and *yanku* for the sample lexemes.

In the zero class the stem has remained the same for all four groups (except for the vowel final deletion in the present tense). This form is *nyina*. The irrealis inflections are attached to this form.

The stem for the Admonitive, the Conditional and the Characteristic in the *la* class is *pajal*. The *-kija* Intensive and *-ra* Unrealised are attached to the equivalent of the *pajal* form plus the future perfective. These examples are:

punkal-kija 'intend to fall'
nintirrilku-kija 'intend to learn'
pajalku-ra 'in order to bite'

The Purposive inflection *-ku* follows the *-ra* Unrealised inflection. An alternative analysis for this inflection is discussed at §8.4.5.

Serial and nominalised forms

The nominalised and serial forms attach to the *nyina*, *pungku* and *yanku* stems in the *ø*, *wa* and *rra* class. In the *la* class the inflections *-ra* and *-nja* are attached to the *pajal* form.

Table 8.2: Verb inflections for sample lexemes in the four conjugation classes

	1 <i>ø</i> -class 'sit'	2 <i>wa</i> -class 'hit'	3 <i>rra</i> -class 'go'	4 <i>la</i> -class 'bite'
Perfective				
IMPERATIVE and PAST NARRATIVE	<i>nyina-ø</i>	<i>puwa</i>	<i>yarra</i>	<i>pajala</i>
PAST	<i>nyinangu(n)</i>	<i>pungu(n)</i>	<i>yanu(n)</i>	<i>pajarnu(n)</i>
FUTURE	<i>nyinaku</i>	<i>pungku</i>	<i>yanku</i>	<i>pajalku</i>
Imperfective				
PRESENT	<i>nyinin</i> (<i>nyinanyin</i>)	<i>pungin</i> (<i>punganyin</i>)	<i>yanin</i> (<i>yananyin</i>)	<i>pajanin</i> (<i>pajanyin</i>)
PAST	<i>nyinama</i> (<i>nyinapayi</i>)	<i>pungama</i> (<i>pungupayi</i>)	<i>yanama</i> (<i>yanapayi</i>) ^f	<i>pajanma</i> (<i>pajalpayi</i>)
PAST HABITUAL	<i>nyinama</i> (<i>nyinapayi</i>)	<i>pungama</i> (<i>pungupayi</i>)	<i>yanama</i> (<i>yanapayi</i>)	<i>pajanma</i> (<i>pajalpayi</i>)
FUTURE	<i>nyinamal</i>	<i>pungamal</i>	<i>yanamal</i>	<i>pajanmal</i>
IMPERATIVE	<i>nyinama</i>	<i>pungama</i>	<i>yanama</i>	<i>pajanma</i>

	1 <i>ø</i> -class 'sit'	2 <i>wa</i> -class 'hit'	3 <i>rra</i> -class 'go'	4 <i>la</i> -class 'bite'
Irrealis				
ADMONITIVE	<i>nyinajaku</i>	<i>pungkujaku</i>	<i>yankujaku</i>	<i>pajaljaku</i>
INTENTIVE	<i>nyinakija</i>	<i>pungkukija</i>	<i>yankukija</i>	<i>pajalkukija</i>
UNREALISED	<i>nyinara</i>	<i>pungkura</i>	<i>yankura</i>	<i>pajalkura</i>
PURPOSIVE	<i>nyinaraku</i>	<i>pungkuraku</i>	<i>yankuraku</i>	<i>pajalkuraku</i>
OBLIGATIVE	<i>nyinangara</i>	<i>pungkungara</i>	<i>yankungara</i>	<i>pajalngara</i>
HYPOTHETICAL	<i>nyinamara</i>	<i>pungkumara</i>	<i>yankumara</i>	<i>pajalmara</i>
CHARACTERISTIC	<i>nyinapayi</i>	<i>pungkupayi</i>	<i>yankupayi</i>	<i>pajalpayi</i>
SERIAL FORM	<i>nyinara</i>	<i>pungkula</i>	<i>yankula</i>	<i>pajara</i>
NOMINALISED FORM 1	<i>nyinanja</i>	<i>pungkunja</i>	<i>yankunja</i>	<i>pajanja</i>

The forms in parentheses are the more marked alternations discussed below in §8.2.1.1.

8.2.1.1 Other tense aspect and mood inflections

The inflections listed in Table 8.2 are the most commonly used verbal inflections for tense aspect and mood in Wangkajunga. However the texts contain some alternative forms used by the principal consultants as well as other Wangkajunga speakers. These are the forms in brackets in Table 8.2. In Chapter 1 I observed that speakers sometimes changed forms when speaking in the presence of someone who used an alternative form (§1.4.4.2). There is no difference in meaning between the common inflections and the alternative inflections. The other forms of verbal inflections are present tense *-nyin*, future perfective *-nun*, *-rnun* and *-ngun* and past continuous *-payi*. The following examples compare the use of the common forms with the less common forms.

The present tense -nyin

Example 8.1 illustrates the common *-in* form of the present tense. Example 8.2 illustrates the *-nyin* form in a very similar context. The present tense inflections in Yulparija are *nyi(n)*, *yin* and *nganyin* (§8.6.2). Examples 8.1 and 8.2 are spoken by two different speakers.

- 8.1 *Tali-wana ngarr-in warrangkarli.*
sandhill-PERL lie-PRES plant.name
‘Warrangkali’ grows along the sandhills. [SWPMi]
- 8.2 *Tali-ngka-wana ngarri-nyin ngaa-rti mangarri*
sandhill-LOC-PERL lie-PRES DEM-PL vegetable.food
These fruits grow along the sandhills. [DS]

The past perfective -nun, -rnun and -ngun

Examples 8.3 and 8.4 have the common *-ngu* form of the past perfective. In example 8.3 it is word final and in example 8.4 it occurs before the bound pronoun *ya* ‘they’. Examples 8.5 and 8.6 have the *-ngun* forms in similar environments. All these examples are from the same speaker. Example 8.7, from another speaker, has the two forms joined

by the conjunction *ka*. The /n/ final form can occur in all conjugation classes. These may have been older forms reduced to vowel final inflections with the preference for vowel final words (§2.2.4).

- 8.3 *Jupjup, palunya-lanyaju-ya yu-ngu.*
 stew(K) palunya-1plexO-3plS give-PST
 Stew, They gave us that. [KNG]
- 8.4 *Yu-ngu-ya-jananya shirt-pa, trousers,*
 give-PST-3plS-3plO shirt-PA trousers
 They gave them shirts and trousers. [DHN]
- 8.5 *Yu-ngun-pa-jananya kartiya-lu.*
 give-PST-PA-3plO European-ERG
 The white man gave it to them. [FLBD]
- 8.6 *Ngayu-rna wangka-ngun kuju.*
 1sg-1sgS talk-PST alone
 I spoke to myself. [NBK2:21]
- 8.7 *Marrampaju-nun-pa-ya ka palya-rnu-ya partata jina*
 put.hand.print-PST-PA-3plS CONJ good-PST-3plS bustard footprint
 They put hand prints on it and they made turkey's footprints. [KALACC]

The past habitual -payi

Example 8.8 illustrates the common use of the past imperfective *-ma* and example 8.9 illustrates the alternative inflection *-payi*. These examples are from different speakers but similar texts of similar styles, that is stories of the traditional life in the desert. The *-payi* inflection is past continuous in Manyjilyjarra. (Marsh 1992)

- 8.8 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma,*
 1sg-PL-PA-1plexS in.camp sit-PSTHB
 We used to stay in the camp. [DHN1]
- 8.9 *Nyina-payi-laju Jarntirri-ngka*
 sit-PSTHB-1plexS place.name-LOC
 We used to stay at Jarntirri. [SB]

8.2.2 Irregular verb *ngala* 'eat'

The verb *ngala* 'eat' has the inflections for the *la* class in Perfective Imperative, and Future. In the Perfective Past it has the *-ngu* inflection of the *wa* class. Unlike other verbs, *ngala* has the future perfective as a stem for the imperfective inflections. Regular verbs have the forms identical to *nyina*, *punga*, *yana* or *pajan*. This verb has the future form as a stem for all imperfective and irrealis inflections.

The Imperative form of this verb although ending in *-la* has only two syllables. Imperative forms of the *la* class normally have more than two syllables.

Table 8.3 sets out the perfective, imperfective and the attested irrealis forms of the irregular verb *ngala* 'eat'.

Table 8.3: Inflectional forms for the irregular verb *ngala* ‘eat’

Perfective:	
IMPERATIVE	<i>ngala</i>
PAST	<i>ngalangu</i>
FUTURE	<i>ngalku</i>
Imperfective:	
PRESENT	<i>ngalkunin</i>
IMPERATIVE	<i>ngalkunma</i>
PAST	<i>ngalkunma</i>
FUTURE	<i>ngalkunmal</i>
UNREALISED	<i>ngalkura</i>
CHARACTERISTIC	<i>ngalkupayi</i>
SERIAL	<i>ngalkula</i>

The two examples 8.10 and 8.11 illustrate the irregular past perfective and past imperfective forms of the verb *nga* ‘eat’.

- 8.10 *Wiya-laju tina ngala-ngu.*
 NEG-1plexS dinner eat-PST
 We didn’t eat dinner. [KNG]
- 8.11 *Yumu-laju ngalkun-ma drypala*
 just-1plexS eat-PSTIMP dry(K)
 We just ate it dry. [DHN]

8.2.3 Irregular verb *nyawa* ‘see’

The verb *nyawa* ‘see’ belongs to the *wa* class but has an irregular form in the future tense. Example 8.12 shows the regular future tense forms of the two verbs *kati* ‘take’ and *puwa* ‘hit’. The verb *kati* belongs to the \emptyset class and the verb *puwa* to the *wa* class. Example 8.13 has the irregular form with the verb *nyawa* ‘see’.

- 8.12 *Kuka-kurlu-pula-jananya kati-ku yu-ngku jiji ngaa-n-pa*
 meat-HAV-3dIS-3pIO take-FUT give-FUT child DEM-PL-PA
 The two of them will take it and give it to these kids. [SWPN1]
- 8.13 *An palunjanu-lu nya-ku nyarra-pula tati-rnu*
 an SENTMOD-ERG see-FUT DEM-3dIS climb-PST
 And after that she will say, ‘They’ve climbed up [the sandhill] over there!’
 [DHN1]

8.3 Inflectional suffixes and their meanings

The verbal inflections in Wangkajunga, like the verbal inflections in many languages, are not neatly separated into the functions of tense, aspect and mood. This discussion of verbal inflections covers all three functions. I begin with a discussion of imperative inflections in §8.3.1. These are separated from the other inflections because they are used to give instructions and commands rather than make statements. I then discuss the present

tense in §8.3.2. Past time reference is discussed in §8.3.3 and future time reference in §8.3.4.

8.3.1 Non-declarative speech acts - imperatives

There are two types of non-declarative speech acts in Wangkajunga. The first type, commands and instructions, are discussed below and the second, interrogatives are discussed in §12.2. Commands and instructions can be given with either the perfective imperative or the imperfective imperative forms. The inflections for the perfective imperative *-ø*, *-wa*, *-rra* and *-la* are extremely regular throughout the Western Desert. The Nyangumarta forms *a/i*, *wa*, *rra* and *IV*, where V stands for any vowel, are similar (Sharp 1998).

8.3.1.1 *-ø*, *-wa*, *-rra*, *-la* the perfective imperative (IMP)

The primary purpose of the perfective imperative inflections is to give instructions or to command the hearer to perform an action, or to suggest that the speaker and hearer jointly perform an action, or to suggest that a number of people, including the hearer, perform an action. The cross-referencing of imperatives is discussed in §6.2.1.1. Examples 8.14 to 8.18 illustrate simple commands in Wangkajunga. Commands are typically given to a second person or hearer. For this reason the second person singular subject is not always shown either by an overt nominal or by a bound pronoun. In example 8.14 the speaker is issuing a simple command to a single hearer and there is no cross-referencing bound pronoun for the second person singular. Subjects of commands issued to more than one person can be cross-referenced by first person - example 8.15, second person - example 8.16, and third person - examples 8.17 and 8.18 bound pronouns. Example 8.14 has both verbs of the serial verb construction inflected for the perfective imperative. Imperatives with the imperative perfective inflections give commands for events that they expect to be completed and have an endpoint.

Example 8.15 has the first person dual clitic *-li* before the reflexive *-ngku*. As Goddard points out this is rather like the speaker giving instructions to herself or himself. (Goddard 1985:95)

- 8.14 *Ma-rra-rni yu-wa.*
get-IMP-1sgO give-IMP
Get it for me. [NBK2:45]
- 8.15 *Karrpi-la-li-ngku!*
tie up-IMP-1dIS-REFL
Lets do up our seat belts! [tie ourselves up]. [NBK2:264]
- 8.16 *Karrpila-ngku-npula.*
tie.up-REFL-2dIS
Tie yourselves up, you two. [do up your seat belts] [NBK3]
- 8.17 *Ya-rra-ya ngurra-kutu*
go-IMP-3plS home-ALL
Everybody go home. [WDBK]

- 8.18 *Pawul-ma-rnu-janampa 'Ya-rra kati-ø-rni-ya wana-wu.'*
 shout-ma-PST-3plDAT go-IMP carry-IMP-1sgO-3plS digging.stick-VOC
 He called out to them, 'Bring me a digging stick'. [KNG]

Commands can be issued in the negative as illustrated by example 8.19. Negative instructions are in the future tense (§8.5 below). Example 8.19 also shows that imperatives can be cross-referenced by second person singular subject bound pronouns. Negative instructions are discussed further in §12.3.3.

- 8.19 *Wiya-n ya-nku nyarra-kutu!*
 NEG-2sgS go-FUT DEM-ALL
 Don't go over there! [NBK2:134]

The perfective imperative forms are used in historical texts to indicate the past narrative time of events. This is discussed below in §8.3.3.4.

8.3.1.2 *-ma* the imperfective imperative (IMPIMP)

The imperfective imperative commands the hearer to keep on doing an action. This inflection is used with events that can be extended in time such as the motion verbs *ya* 'go' *wirrjala* 'run', the position verbs such as *nyina* 'stay' and the sensation and perception verbs such as *kulila* 'hear' and *nyawa* 'look'. A common use of the imperfective imperative is as a way of ending a conversation, somewhat like a dismissal. This is illustrated in example 8.20. Imperatives that are called out can have a vocative ending on the final syllable as in this example (§2.1.1.8). Goddard (1985:96) notes that

the imperfective imperative can be used with a less pressing, more polite effect, [than the perfective imperative], presumably because it implies less attention to the result or completion of the action in question

- 8.20 *Nyina-ma-wu*
 sit-IMPIMP-VOC
 Alright, stay there! (I'll go)

8.3.2 *-n, -in, -nin, -nyin* present tense (PRES)

The present tense is typically used when the event is taking place at a time that includes now or the time of the utterance. Although this inflection is labelled 'present tense' it also functions as an aspectual marker. Events marked by the present tense can be continuous and sometimes habitual. Comrie (1985) says that the present tense refers to a situation holding at the present moment even where that situation is part of a larger situation that occupies more than just the present moment. (Comrie 1985:38)

In examples 8.21, 8.22, 8.23 and 8.24 the situation occupies varying lengths of time but always includes the time of utterance. In these examples the predicates refer to actual events that are ongoing. In 8.21 the time covers only a few minutes while a head is being scratched. The person being spoken to in example 8.22 was looking for something for approximately half an hour and the child in example 8.23 was sleeping for one or two hours. In example 8.24 the person was living in Perth for several months. In all of these examples the 'present tense' inflection can be translated with the English present continuous.

8.21 *Jawan-in-pa-ngku-n kata.*
 scratch-PRES-PA-REFL-2sgS head
 You are scratching your head. [NBK2:30]

8.22 *Ngana-ku-ra-n nyang-in-pa?*
 what-DAT-3sgDAT-2sgS look-PRES-PA
 What are you looking for? [NBK2:147]

8.23 *Jiji ngaa kurtun-pa ngarr-in.*
 child DEM sleep-PA lie-PRES
 This child is sleeping. [NBK2:169]

8.24 *Bernadette Perth-ta nyin-in-pa.*
 name place.name-LOC stay-PRES-PA
 Bernadette is living in Perth. [NBK3:69]

The present tense is also used for events that are iterative or repeated as well as for single on-going events. Examples of possible iterative events in Wangkajunga are *jawala* ‘dig’, *kinilpuwa* ‘cough’, *katula* ‘chop’, *minala* ‘dip’, *nyitanjipuwa* ‘hiccup’ and *wantitiwa* ‘jump’. Example 8.25 has the iterative event *jantitin* ‘limping’ in the present tense.

8.25 *Janti-ti-n-pa-rna mimi-kurlu.*
 limp-ACT-PRES-PA-1sgS sore-HAV
 I’m limping with a sore foot. [NBK3:32]

The present tense can be used with the verb *ya* ‘go’ when the action takes place some time after the time of utterance.

8.26 *Wurna-rna yan-in-pa raapu-ngka² yapurra.*
 away-1sgS go-PRES-PA Friday-LOC south
 I’m going south on Friday. [KNG]

The present tense is also used to make statements about accepted truths. These assert that an event takes place from time to time without it referring to a specific event occurring now. This is not a contradiction of Comrie’s definition quoted above.

Sentences with habitual aspect meaning refer not to a sequence of situations recurring at intervals, but rather to a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times ...

Just as we claim there can be no separate habitual tense, distinct from the present, likewise we are led to claim that there can be no universal tense, i.e. a tense that is used for truths that hold at a time. (1985:39, 40)

Example 8.27 makes a universal statement about language use. Example 8.28 makes a general statement about the type of bottles used for wine.

8.27 *‘Warrangkarli’ wajan-in Walmajarri-lu, ‘minyili’-laju*
 bush fruit say-PRES language.name bush.fruit-1plexS
wajan-in-pa Wangkajunga-lu.
 say-PRES-PA language.name-ERG
 Walmajarri say ‘warrangkarli’ and Wangkajunga say ‘minyili’. [SWPMi]

² *Raapu* is the word for Friday as this word cannot be used since the death of a Walmajarri man with the name Friday. It is from the Walmajarri word *raapu* ‘light’ which has been extended to ‘bread’. Friday was the bread-making day at the old mission in Fitzroy Crossing.

- 8.28 *ngapi-yuru wine-kurlu-ya jikin-in-pa yangka bottle-pa jarlu*
 HES-SIM wine-HAV-3plS drink-PRES-PA DEM bottle-PA big
 like what, the ones with the wine they drink, those big bottles. [FLBD]

The present tense is used in texts to describe illustrations. The illustration is a pictorial representation of a situation at the present moment and at any other time that the picture exists.

- 8.29 *Ngaa-ya jiji wiyaju nyin-in-pa yurlta-ngka*
 DEM-3plexS child only stay-PRES-PA camp-LOC
 Here only the children are in camp. [SWPN]

In the course of a narrative about pictures the present tense is used to re-establish the timing of the events back to the present. The following example is from a text about an illustration of children in a sandhill and their parents in the foreground. The parents had gone hunting and left their children at the camp.

- 8.30 *Nyina-ngu-pula pawu-rnu yunmi-rri-ngu, Paka-rnu-pula.*
 sit-PST-3dlS cook-PST done-INCH-PST rise-PST-3dlS
Malaku-janampa-pula jiji-ku kati-n-pa kuka laltu.
 return-3plDAT-3dlS child-DAT take-PRES-PA meat lots
Palunya-ya jiji ngarlpu-rri-n-pa tali-ngka.
 DEM-3plS child play-INCH-PRES-PA sandhills-LOC
 They sat and cooked the meat until it was well done. They got up. They are taking lots of meat back for their children. Those children are playing in the sandhills. [SWPM]

The present tense is used in narratives in direct speech when the direct speech refers to an action happening at the time of that speech. In example 8.31 the speaker of the quoted speech is describing an action that is happening while she is speaking.

- 8.31 *Tilpu kamu yirna-pula, nyarra-yi yan-in-pa kuka-kurlu*
 mum CONJ dad-3dlS DEM-VOC go-PRES-PA meat-HAV
 Mum and Dad are coming, with the meat, over there, [DHN]

8.3.3 Past time reference

8.3.3.1 -nu, -rnu, -ngu, the perfective past (PST)

The past tense is used when the event takes place at some time before now, that is, before the time of the utterance, and when the event is completed. It is used in Wangkajunga for a range of past events from those that have only just been completed to those that were completed in the distant past. The past perfective is used when the entire event rather than the separate parts of it is important. Examples 8.32 and 8.33 illustrate that the past perfective can be used for any completed event before 'now'. The event in example 8.32 occurred minutes before the utterance was made, while the event in example 8.33 took place when the middle-aged speaker was a baby.

- 8.32 *Ngana-lu-nta pu-ngu?*
 INDEF-ERG-2sgO hit-PST
 Who hit you? [NBK2:87]

- 8.33 *Ngarri-ngu-rna nguli-nguli lamparn-janu. Paka-rnu-rna mara-rnu*
 lie-PST-1sgS child-RDP small-ABL get.up-PST-1sgS crawl-PST
jii-ngka-ngulyu
 DEM-LOC-CERT
 I lived there from when I was a very small child. I started to crawl right there!
 [PNTGS]

Wangkajunga narratives about current and non-traditional events are mostly written in the perfective past. The narrator uses the perfective past to describe the events as past and complete. Example 8.34 is from a text describing an accident that occurred when the speaker was a child. Example 8.35 is from an account of a trip to the desert the week before the story was told.

- 8.34 *jiji-rni pawu-rnu, kunyarr-ju-rni-ya pawu-rnu.*
 child-1sgO burn-PST dog-ERG-1sgO-3plS burn-PST
 when I was a child I got burnt, the dogs burnt me. [BRNS]
- 8.35 *Ya-nu-laju, trailer-lampaju ngartalya-un kutu-ngka tali-ngka.*
 go-PST-1plexS trailer-1plexDAT cracked-PST middle-LOC sandhill-LOC
 We went on. The trailer broke on us in the middle of a sandhill. [KNG]

The past time can also be made specific by lexical time reference. In example 8.36 the word *nyukurni* ‘before’ and the location *stationta* ‘on the station’ makes the timing of the event of sewing flourbags more specific. This event took place at the time the narrator was living on the cattle station.

- 8.36 *Turrirti-lampaju-ya mintim-ma-nu station-ta. nyukurni ngurupa-ku*
 dress-1plDAT-3plS sew-CAUS-PST station-LOC before ignorant-DAT
 In the old days on the stations they made the dresses by hand, for those of us
 who didn’t know how to do it. [FBD]

8.3.3.2 -*ma* past imperfective (PSTIMP)

Events that occur before the time of the utterance but are seen as ongoing are inflected with the past imperfective.

The past imperfective is not always equivalent to the English progressive. In example 8.37 the speaker has extended the use of the verb *wanila* ‘cut’ to describe the process of grading a road. She uses the past imperfective for the event of grading roads because grading roads is an activity without an endpoint. For the area to remain a road the grading must be continued periodically. In the example, the speaker is referring to some years past when the grading was commenced.

Example 8.38 illustrates the past imperfective translated by the English past progressive. Example 8.39 illustrates the use of the past imperfective to describe a state of hunger that occurred over a period of time.

- 8.37 *Wanin-ma-ya road-pa, nyukurni, Roadputu-lu,*
 cut-PSTIMP-3plS road-PA before Road.Boardu-ERG
 They graded the road, years ago, the Road Board did it, [KNG]
- 8.38. *yangka-ngula-npula nyina-ma.*
 DEM-REL-2dIS stay-PSTIMP
 where you two were staying. [KNG]

- 8.39 *Mulkurr-pa-rna yana-ma.*
 hungry-PA-1sgS go-PSTIMP
 I was going hungry. [NBK2:69]

In texts about past events the past imperfective marks actions as on-going in contrast to other events in the past perfective which are completed. This helps to clarify the timing of events in relation to each other. Example 8.40 explains what is happening to another group of travellers while the first group is shooting game. The description of the shooting game is in the past perfective. Example 8.41 describes what the storyteller was doing while the dogs were fighting. The description of the fighting dogs is in the past perfective.

- 8.40 *Malakati-ya karlki-kujupa wirrjan-ma kujupa-kurlu toyota-kurlu.*
 behind-3plS others-ANOTH run-PSTIMP ANOTH-HAV 4WD.vehicle-HAV
 The others were travelling behind with the other four wheel drive. [KNG]
- 8.41 *Waru-ngka-rna nyina-ma*
 fire-LOC-1sgS sit-PSTIMP
 I was sitting by the fire. [BRNS]

8.3.3.3 -ma past habitual (PSTHB)

A number of Wangkajunga texts about the narrators' traditional childhood in the desert mark past events with the past imperfective. In this use the past imperfective describes events that are habitual rather than ongoing. I have translated this meaning of the past imperfective as 'used to'. Perfective events in the historic past are marked by the narrative past described in §8.3.3.4.

- 8.42 *Wama kuwinjana-ma-laju yilpurjana-ma sshhlrrp sshhlrrp jilanya*
 nectar suck-PSTHB-1plexS lick-PSTHB sound.effect sound.effect like.that.
 We used to suck and lick nectar, sshhlrrp, like that. [DHN]
- 8.43 *Kalyu-kujupa kalyu-kujupa-laju yana-ma, jila-kujupa*
 water-ANOTH water-ANOTH-1plexS go-PSTHB waterhole-ANOTH
jila-kujupa-lanyaju-ya kati-ma.
 waterhole-ANOTH-1plexO-3plS take-PSTHB
 We used to go from one waterhole to another, from waterhole to waterhole
 they used to take us. [DHN]

8.3.3.4 -ø, -wa, -rra, -la the narrative past (NARPST)

A number of Wangkajunga texts about the narrators' traditional childhood in the desert mark past events with the set of inflections that are homophonous with the perfective imperative. Events marked with imperfective inflections are also common in the same texts (§8.3.3.3). These inflections are not used in texts about recent trips to the desert nor in the less formal descriptions of photos or illustrations. I have translated the meaning of the events marked with -ø, -wa, -rra, -la as equivalent to English 'would go' and labelled it narrative past. Examples 8.44 and 8.45 are from two different speakers and are both from texts about the speakers' childhood in the desert.

- 8.44 *Pina-ya ya-rra yurrily-jarra kalyu-kurlu an*
 far-3plS go-NARPST container.of.water-ASST water-HAV CONJ
ngula-ya miti-kurlu warinkati-ø ruka-ruka, ruka-jarra.
 later-3plS cooked.meat-HAV arrive-NARPST sundown-RDP sundown-ASST
 The ones with water for the return journey would go a long way, and later,
 they would arrive in the late afternoon with the cooked meat. [DHN]
- 8.45 *Ya-rra-ya pu-wa minyuparnta, waltaki, an piti-ngka*
 go-NARPST-3plS hit-NARPST possum fox CONJ hole-LOC
jawa-la pu-wa kanaji-lanyaju-ya.
 dig-NARPST hit-NARPST snake-1plexO-3plS
 They would go and kill possums and foxes and they would dig in a hole and kill a
 snake for us. [DHM]

8.3.4 Future time reference

8.3.4.1 -ku, -ngku, -nku, -lku future perfective (FUT)

The inflections that I have labelled ‘future tense’ are used when an event takes place sometime after the time of the utterance and does not obviously include the time of utterance. Although labelled ‘future’ these inflections mark more than just the timing of the event. Chung and Timberlake (1985:206) point out the inherent correlation between the future tense and non-actual potential mood. An event that will occur after the time of the utterance has not actually happened but has the potential for occurrence. In Wangkajunga there is a correlation between the future tense marker and the irrealis stem in the *wa* and *rra* classes. This is the stem for a range of moods that express an event as potential but not actually taking place. The mood inflections are discussed in §8.4.

The inflections for future perfective are also used to inflect verbs in perfective imperative sentences (§8.3.1.1).

The simple future perfective inflections can mark a number of moods such as uncertainty, intention, politeness and obligation as well as marking the timing of the event. In examples 8.46 and 8.47 the future tense inflection marks a time in the future and the speakers’ intention of doing something. Example 8.47 also indicates some uncertainty. The speaker didn’t want to eat the kangaroo tail at the time of speaking and was putting it away in case she wanted it in the morning. This example has the nominal *yungunypa* ‘morning’ which adds a more specific time to the potential occurrence of the event.

- 8.46 *Ya-nku-rna ma-nku.*
 go-FUT-1sgS get-FUT
 I’ll go and get it. [NBK2:47]
- 8.47 *Nga-lku-rna marlu-nginti³ yunguny-pa.*
 eat-FUT-1sgS kangaroo-tail morning-PA
 I might eat the kangaroo tail in the morning. [NBK2:77]

The future tense is used when making certain requests. Requests made in the future tense are more formal and polite than requests in the imperative (§8.3.1).

³ I have interpreted this word as a compound rather than two separate words because of the stress pattern. There is primary stress on the first syllable of *marlu* and not on the first syllable of *nginti*.

- 8.48 *Yu-nku-rni-n purli?*
 give-FUT-1sgO-2sgS money
 Will you give me some money? [NBK2:36]

8.3.4.2 The future tense and the verb *ya* ‘go’

The verb *ya* ‘go’ can be used in the future tense and the present tense to denote similar events. Example 8.49, repeated from 8.26, has the event marked by the present tense. Example 8.50 and 8.51 have similar events marked by the future tense. The differences in the meaning of these inflections in these contexts is a difference of certainty. The present tense is used when the event is certain to occur. Examples 8.49 to 8.51 are spoken by the same speaker. In 8.49 she has control over her visit to the south and is more certain of going. In 8.50 she is undecided whether to go on Monday and uses the future tense and in 8.51 someone else is arranging her travel and she reports the conversation with the event in the future tense.

- 8.49 *Wurna-rna yan-in-pa raapu-ngka yapurra.*
 away-1sgS go-PRES-PA Friday-LOC south
 I’m going south on Friday. [KNG]
- 8.50 *Monday-ngka-rna ya-nku.*
 Monday-LOC-1sgS go-FUT
 I might go on Monday. [NBK2:36]
- 8.51 *Waja-rnu-ju Barry-lu Ya-nku-n Saturday night Port Hedland-kutu.*
 say-PST-1sgDAT name-ERG go-FUT-2sgS Saturday.night place.name-ALL
 Barry said to me, ‘You’ll probably be going to Port Hedland on Saturday night’.
 [FAX]

Negative sentences, where there is certainty that the event will not occur, are in the future tense.

- 8.52 *Wiya-n ya-nku nyarra-kutu.*
 NEG-2sgS go-FUT there-ALL
 Don’t you go over there. [NBK2:134]

8.3.4.3 -*mal* future imperfective (FUTIMP)

The future imperfective describes the timing of events that occur some time after the moment of speaking but that are on-going at that time. Example 8.53 describes a situation that the speaker expects to be taking place the following evening. The second example, 8.54, describes a situation that will occur in an hour or two. The third example has more than one temporal reference. The lexical item *kuwarri* ‘today’ describes current time in that it is relevant at any time on the day of speaking. The future imperfective marker *-mal* refers to an event on that day which will occur after the time of speaking and will be an ongoing process. The nominalised form of ‘go’ used in this example; *yankunjanulu* ‘the ones who went’, is discussed in the §11.1.3 on relative clauses.

- 8.53 *Nyina-mal-pa-rna kuju.*
 stay-FUTIMP-PA-1sgS one
 I’ll be staying alone. [NBK2:79]

- 8.54 *Kanyina-mal-pa kujarra lungkurta.*
 have-FUTIMP-PA two blue-tongue.lizard
 She might have two blue-tongue lizards. [NBK2:79]
- 8.55 *Kuwarri-ya maiti mana-mal, yangka-ya ya-nku-nja-nu-lu*
 today-3plS might(K) get-FUTIMP DEM-3plS go-IRR-NOMZ-ABL-ERG
kuwarri ya-nu desert Maitbi-ya mana-mal puura lurrju.
 today go-PST desert might(K) get-FUTIMP tomatoes also
 Today, the people who went to the desert today, they could be getting some.
 They might be getting bush tomatoes as well. [SWPMi]

8.4 Inflections that follow irrealis

A number of verbal inflections are attached to verb stems which have the same form as the future tense in the *wa* and *rra* classes. These are characteristic, admonitive, hypothetical, obligative and unrealised. As all of these mood inflections are similar in that they have not actually taken place but have the potential to occur, I have labelled this inflection ‘irrealis’. A similar form is labelled ‘irrealis’ in Manyjilyjarra, Yankunytjatjara and Yulparija.

In the zero class the same mood inflections follow an uninflected form of the verb. I suggest that the irrealis in this class is zero. In the *la* class these mood inflections generally follow the form *pajal* although this is not regular. The *kija* inflection can be attached after the irrealis. This form is illustrated below.

pajal-ku-kija ‘want to bite’
 bite-IRR-INT

In this section I will discuss each of the inflections that follow irrealis. The inflections are introduced briefly in this section and their function in complex sentences is described in §11.1.

8.4.1 *-jaku* admonitive (ADMON)

The admonitive inflection *-jaku* is used when the speaker wants to indicate that something detrimental might happen if the event is carried out. The syntax of this inflection is described in §11.1. It is commonly used to administer caution and to make strong commands. The two examples 8.56 and 8.57 illustrate the use of the *-jaku* inflection. Example 8.56 shows that the use of *-jaku* inflected verbs can be used as imperatives without cross-referencing bound pronouns. Example 8.57 has both arguments of the verb cross-referenced by bound pronouns. This example is a common admonition to children who are misbehaving and has the pragmatic meaning ‘If you do that again I’ll hit you’.

- 8.56 *Ya-nku-jaku!*
 go-IRR-ADMON
 Get away! [NBK2:81]
- 8.57 *Pu-ngku-jaku-rna-nta*
 hit-IRR-ADMON-1sgS-2sgO
 I’ll hit you [NBK2:129]

8.4.2 *-kija* intentive (INT)

The *-kija* inflection typically indicates a determination by the subject to carry out the action of the verb. In §11.1.1.3 I discuss the use of *-kija* in complex sentences such as 8.58 where *-kija* signals ‘expected consequence’ rather than ‘intention’. Examples 8.58 to 8.62 show that the inflection can be attached to various forms of the verb. It can be attached directly to the verbal root; example 8.58, to the irrealis form of the verb; example 8.58 and following the unrealised suffix; example 8.60. The *-kija* intentive suffix also attaches to nominals; example 8.62. In the southern Western Desert languages the *-kija* intentive suffix is only added to nominals or nominalised verbs.

The *-kija* intentive suffix is attached to transitive; examples 8.60 and 8.61 and intransitive verbs; examples 8.58 and 8.59.

Examples 8.58 and 8.59 show that the *-kija* form is followed by the Ergative suffix *-lu* in agreement with the Ergative subjects and are nominals. Example 8.60 is not marked with the Ergative suffix and is attached directly to the verb.

- 8.58 *Yurnturr-pa yan-in-pa kalyu punkal-kija*
cloud-PA go-PRES-PA water fall-INT
Clouds are coming because it is going to rain [water intends to fall] [NBK3]
- 8.59 *Nada-lu wana ma-nu karnti-kutu ya-nku-kija-lu*
name-ERG digging.stick get-PST potato-ALL go-IRR-INT-ERG
Nada got a digging stick because she wanted to go for potatoes. [NBK3]
- 8.60 *Ya-nu-laju kuka-laju pu-ngku-ra-kija-lu ngaya.*
go-PST-1plexS game-1plexS hit-IRR-UNR-INT-ERG cat
We went on because we wanted to hunt a cat. [DHN]
- 8.61 *Tuju-rti-lu-ya ya-nku Derby-kutu nya-ku-kija*
woman-PL-ERG-3plS go-FUT place.name-ALL see-IRR-INT
parntany-parntany-ku.
woman-RDP-DAT
The women are going to Derby because they want to see the old women.
[NBK3:103]
- 8.62 *Marnti yan-in-pa cool-drinku-kija.*
boy go-PRES-PA cool-drinku-INT
The boy is going because he wants a cool-drink. [NBK3:133]

8.4.3 *-payi* characteristic (CHAR)

The function of the Characteristic suffix is to describe a particular behaviour as typical of the subject of the sentence. It is in the irrealis mood because rather than describing an event that is actually happening it depicts a custom or characteristic. The *-payi* inflection also functions as a nominaliser (§11.1.3). In example 8.63 the event of biting is inflected with *-payi* and attributes the characteristic of biting to the subject, in this case a particular dog. Example 8.64 describes the attributes of eagles in general rather than a particular eagle. In this example the *-payi* inflection is attached to the second verb of a serial construction and attributes the characteristic of catching and eating large animals to the subject *wamulu* ‘eagle’. Both verbs of the serial construction, *wakara* ‘pierce’ and *ngalku* ‘bite’, normally have Ergative subjects. In this example the subject *wamulu* ‘eagle’ is not

marked Ergative.⁴ This suggests that speakers might see events marked with the characteristic inflection as stative rather than agentive.

8.63 *Wamum-pa pajal-payi*
everybody-PA bite-CHAR
He bites everybody [NBK2:111]

8.64 *Wamulu waka-ra ngalku-payi ngalyangamuka, mala.*
eagle pierce-SER eat-CHAR cat Rufous.hare.wallaby
The eagle catches and eats cats and kangaroos. [SWPN]

8.4.4 -ra unrealised (UNR)

I have recorded five related, but different, uses for the *-ra* verbal inflection. These uses are combined under the label ‘irrealis’. The inflection indicates that the action denoted by the verb is not actually happening at the time of speaking although it has the potential to occur. In the zero class the inflection follows the zero irrealis form and the *-ngku*, *-nku*, and *-ku* irrealis forms in the other classes. I discuss each of the recorded functions of the *-ra* inflection below.

8.4.4.1 -ra ‘lets’

The hortative inflection *-ra* is used by the speaker to urge the listener to participate in some sort of action. It is commonly translated by the English ‘lets’. When *-ra* functions with the hortative meaning it is cross-referenced by first person bound pronouns.

8.65 *Ya-nku-ra-la wurna karnti-kurra*
go-IRR-UNR-1plS away potato-ALL
Lets all go for bush potatoes. [NBK2:190.]

8.4.4.2 -ra ‘want’

Events marked by the *-ra* inflection also express the wish of the subject to perform an action. These can be cross-referenced by non-singular first person bound pronouns as well as pronouns in other persons. Example 8.66 could also be translated with a hortative or optative meaning depending on the context. Example 8.67 is cross-referenced by the first person singular bound pronoun *-rna*.

8.66 *Tuju-rti-la ya-nku-ra yiti-wana.*
women-PL-1plS go-IRR-UNR side-PERL
We women want to go along the side. [NBK2]

8.67 *Kurnuju-nku-ra-rna-ju pamarr*
hide-IRR-UNR-1sgS-1sgDAT money
I want to hide my money. [NBK3:27]

⁴ There is another explanation for the lack of Ergative marking on *wamulu* ‘eagle’. This could be a further example of syllable deletion discussed in Chapter 2, §2.4.3.5. One of the *-lu* syllables on *wamululu* eagle-ERG could have been deleted in the fast speech of the story.

8.4.4.3 *-ra* ‘should’, ‘must’

Example 8.68 has an inanimate subject. In this example the *-ra* inflections indicates a belief that something ought to happen. Example 8.69 illustrates the *-ra* inflection in a negative example.

- 8.68 *Yalta-rna, jirtu-lu-rni wakal-ku-ra*
cold-1sgS sun-ERG-1sgO strike-IRR-UNR
I’m cold. The sun should shine on me. [lit. strike me] [NBK2:142]
- 8.69 *Ngal-ku-ra-munu kuka*
eat-IRR-UNR-CONTR meat
He mustn’t eat meat. [NBK2:135]

8.4.4.4 *-ra* ‘try’

Example 8.70 has the unrealised inflection meaning ‘try’.

- 8.70 *junga-ma-nku-ra-rna*
straight-CAUS-IRR-UNR-1sgS
I’ll try to straighten it. [NBK2:267]

8.4.4.5 *-ra* ‘so that’

This inflection relates one event to another by describing the reason for the subordinate event. This is discussed in more detail in §11.1.1. Example 8.71 illustrates the use of the *-ra* inflection with a purposive meaning.

- 8.71 *Tuju-lu-ya lilurl-pa ma-nin-pa jarrampa pawul-ku-ra.*
women-ERG-3plS poker-PA get-PRES-PA prawn cook-IRR-UNR
The women are getting poker to cook the prawns. [NBK3:133]

8.4.5 *-kuraku, -raku* ‘in order to’ purposive (PURP)

The function of the inflection *-kuraku* is similar to the *-ra* inflection above. It also relates one event to another by describing the reason for the event to which it is attached. The forms are not common in the texts. This is possibly a re-analysis of the *-ra* as part of the stem and the *-ku* as the purposive. Sentences with these forms are discussed in more detail in §11.1.1. Example 8.72 illustrates the use of the inflection.

- 8.72 *Tuju-rlu nayipi payim-ma-nin-pa kaalpu-ngku-raku kuka bulluku.*
woman-ERG knife(K) buy(K)-ma-PRES-PA break.up-IRR-PURP meat bullock
The woman is buying a knife in order to cut up the beef. [NBK3:133]

8.4.6 *-mara* hypothetical (HYP)

The meaning of the hypothetical *-mara* and the obligative *-ngara* appear to be quite similar. Examples of both are rare in the texts. Both describe events that did not happen but which the speaker expected to happen. The counterfactual examples describe how things would have happened if things had turned out differently. I have added the clauses before and after example 8.73 to give more context for the meaning of the inflection. In the first example, 8.73, the speaker’s mother would have gone off hunting if she hadn’t come running back when she heard her child, the speaker, crying. The second example, 8.74,

describes the speaker's expectation of punishment if she and Jukuna had gone hunting and if Jukuna had been bitten by the poisonous snake. In both examples what the speaker expected to happen didn't eventuate.

- 8.73 *Ngayu-kurnu ya-nu tilpu wurna kuka-kutu wartilpa.*
 1sg-POSS go-PST mother away meat-ALL hunting
Ya-nu. Ya-nku-mara jamun Malaku-rri-ngu wirrja-nu nya-ngu.
 go-PST go-IRR-HYP almost return-INCH-PST run-PST see-PST
 My mother went away hunting, she went, well she almost went, she came
 running back to look. [BRNS]
- 8.74 *Pu-ngku-mara-ju-ya ngayu Jukuna yangka pajal-mara*
 hit-IRR-HYP-1sgDAT-3plS 1sg name DEM bite-HYP
mulyaminyirr-ju
 poisonous snake-ERG
 They might have beaten me if that poisonous snake had bitten Jukuna. [NBK2]

8.4.7 -ngara obligative (OBLIG)

The obligative inflection also describes events that the speaker expected to happen but which did not happen. This inflection has a meaning of obligation that is not obvious in the hypothetical examples. The speaker's glosses in examples 8.75 and 8.76 help to highlight the meaning of obligation. Example 8.77 is similar to the hypothetical example 8.74 above but has a more definite meaning. In 8.77 the speaker is certain that the event would have happened.

- 8.75 *Ma-nku-ngara-ju-n.*
 get-IRR-OBLIG-1sgDAT-2sgS
 What wrong you never pickim up mine? [NBK2:228]
- 8.76 *Ngana-janu-n warinkati-ngara yunguny-ja-ni?*
 INTERR-ABL-2sgS come-OBLIG morning-LOC-DIR
 What wrong you never come here earlier? [NBK3:54]
- 8.77 *Pajal-ngara-rni wirta-lu kartiya-kurnu-lu.*
 bite-OBLIG-1sgO dog-ERG white man-POSS-ERG
 The white man's dog would have bitten me. [NBK2:128]

8.5 Negating an event

The most common way to negate an event in Wangkajunga is with the particle *wiya* 'didn't'. This occurs both clause initially and clause finally and has scope over the whole clause. This and other forms of negation are discussed in §12.3. The language also has two verbs formed by the addition of inflections to the negative particle. These are *wiyarriwa* 'ABS finish' and *wiyala* 'ERG finish ABS'. These are discussed below.

8.5.1 The negative particle *wiya*

Examples 8.78 to 8.81 show that the negative particle can occur with past; example 8.77 and example 8.78, future - example 8.79, and imperfective; example 8.80, inflections.

- 8.78 *Wiya-laju dinner ngala-ngu.*
 NEG-1plexS dinner eat-PST
 We didn't have dinner. [KNG]
- 8.79 *Wiya-laju ngarri-ngu.*
 NEG-1plexS sleep-PST
 We didn't sleep. [KNG]
- 8.80 *Wiya-n ya-nku nyarra-kutu.*
 NEG-2sgS go-FUT there-ALL
 Don't you go over there. [NBK2:134]
- 8.81 *Wiya-laju karru-karru-ngka kinti nyina-ma pulu⁵-kurnu-ngka.*
 NEG-1plexS road-RDP-LOC close stay-PSTIMP bullock-POSS-LOC
 We didn't stay near to the bullock road. [the Canning Stock Route] [DHN]

8.5.2 The intransitive verb *wiyarriwa*

The intransitive verb *wiyarriwa* is made up of the particle *wiya* plus the inchoative and the *wa* class verbal inflections. This verb has Absolutive subjects. It has the meaning 'disappeared', 'finished' or 'dead'. The following are examples of its uses in texts.

- 8.82 *Kuwarri-ya maiti wiya-rri-ngu parnaparnti miitu-rri-ngu*
 now-3plS maybe(K) NEG-INCH-PST sand.goanna die-INCH-PST
kujupa wiya-rri-ngu nyarlku
 another NEG-INCH-PST bilby
 They might have all disappeared now, the sand goannas have died,
 another one is finished, the bilby. [BRNS]

8.5.3 The transitive verb *wiyala*

The verb *wiyala* also means 'finished' but has Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects. This verb is formed by zero derivation to the negative particle in the same way as the many zero derived transitive verbs in class 4, the *la* class. Unlike simple negation with the particle *wiya* this form assumes that there was a previous event of 'giving' but that it has now finished. I have added the speaker's gloss to the word *jarlaljarlaljan* in example 8.83 as it adds context to the meaning of *wiyala*. Example 8.85 shows that the use of the verb is not restricted to the past tense.

- 8.83 *Yu-ngu-jananya wiya-rnu, jarlaljarlaljan*
 give-PST-3plO finish-PST too.much.asking.round.
 She's stopped giving it to them, there was too much nagging about it. [NBK2:52]
- 8.84 *ngala-ngu-ya wiya-rnu*
 eat-PST-3plS finish-PST
 They've eaten it all up. [NBK2:52]

⁵ The last syllable of *puluku* has been deleted in this example before the identical initial syllable of *kurnu*. Syllable deletion is discussed in §2.4.

- 8.85 *wiya-lku-rna, money-parni*
 finish-FUT-1sgS money-PRIV
 I'll finish it all and be without money. [NBK2:52]

8.5.4 Negating an event with *-munu*

An event can also be negated by means of the addition of the Contradictive suffix *-munu* to the *-ra* unrealised form of the verb followed by the nominal derivational suffix *-munu* (§12.3). An example of this form of the verb is given below in 8.86. The intensive suffix *-kija* can also follow the *-ra* form of the verb as shown in example 8.60 above. In the southern Western Desert languages *-munu* contradictive is attached to nominals and nominalised verbs.

- 8.86 *mayi walyja ma-nku-ra-munu.*
 food own get-IRR-UNR-CONTR
 he can't get his own food. [NBK2:261]

8.6 Comparison of verbal inflections

In this section I compare the main verbal inflections in the Western Desert languages with the verbal inflections of four non-Western Desert northern neighbours.

8.6.1 Conjugation classes

Table 8.4 compares the number of conjugation classes in these languages. The conjugation classes are the same throughout these Western Desert languages. The classes are mostly labelled by the forms of the imperative *ø*, *wa*, *rra* and *la* which are also common to all of the Western Desert languages. Some authors have labelled the conjugation classes by what Dixon (1980:389) called the conjugation class marker, that is, *ø*, *l*, *n*, and *ng*. The imperative inflections in Nyangumarta are identical to the Western Desert languages in the *wa* and *rra* classes, have a different vowel in the *la* class and consist of a single vowel in the zero class.

All the Western Desert languages have four conjugation classes. Nyangumarta also has four. Walmajarri and Warlpiri have five and Jaru has six. I have not considered the composition of the various classes. Some of the conjugations in Warlpiri have only one or two members and might actually equate with the northern Western Desert irregular verb forms.

8.6.2 Verbal inflections

The verbal inflections for imperative, present, past and future are similar throughout the Western Desert. The forms for the four conjugation classes for the northern and southern Western Desert languages are set out in Table 8.4. The inflections are compared in Table 8.5.

Table 8.4: Stem forms for four conjugation classes in Western Desert languages

	<i>ø</i> class	<i>wa</i> class	<i>rra</i> class	<i>la</i> class
Imperative	<i>nyina</i>	<i>puwa</i>	<i>yarra</i>	<i>pajala</i>
Present	<i>nyin</i> <i>nyina</i>	<i>punga</i> , <i>pung</i> , <i>pungku</i>	<i>yan</i> , <i>yana</i> , <i>yanku</i>	<i>paja</i>
Past	<i>nyina</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>paja</i>
Future	<i>nyina</i>	<i>pu</i> <i>pungku</i> *	<i>ya</i> <i>yanku</i> *	<i>paja</i>
Imperfective	<i>nyina</i>	<i>punga</i> , <i>pungku</i>	<i>yana</i> <i>yanku</i>	<i>pajan</i>

These are the stems for future tense inflections in the southern languages Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara.

In the southern Western Desert languages Yankunytjara and Pitjantjatjara, the stem for the ‘future’ form in the *wa* and *rra* classes is identical to the ‘future’ form of the northern languages. Nyangumarta has a three syllable future form and the first two syllables of this is also identical to the Wangkajunga future inflection. This is illustrated below with examples from Wangkajunga, Yankunytjatjara and Nyangumarta and also in Table 8.4.

Future tense forms

Wangkajunga	<i>pungku</i> ‘will hit’	<i>junku</i> ‘will put’
Yankunytjatjara	<i>pungkuku</i> ‘will hit’	<i>junkuku</i> ‘will put’
Nyangumarta	<i>pungkuliny</i> ‘will hit’	<i>mankuliny</i> ‘will get’

8.6.3 Tense mood and aspect information in the catalyst

The languages marked with an * also indicate information about tense mood or aspect in the auxiliary, catalyst or base for the cross-referencing bound pronouns. In these languages the combination of the base form of the auxiliary and the verbal inflections indicate the tense and mood of the sentence. In Jaru the base form is *nga* for declarative sentences and *ba* or *wa* for non-declarative sentences. Warlpiri has a set of base forms, which also indicates tense and aspect. The Walmajarri catalyst is *ma-* or *pa-* for declarative sentences and *nga-* for interrogatives. Nyangumarta cross-referencing pronouns are attached directly to the verb.

Table 8.5: Verbal inflections in the Western Desert languages and four Northern non-Western Desert neighbours

	IMP	Present	Past	Future
Non-Western Desert				
Warlpiri*	<i>ya, ngka, ka, nja, nta</i>	<i>nya, nganya, rninya, nanya</i>	<i>ja, ngu, rnu, nu</i>	<i>ju, ngku, ku, lku, nku,</i>
Jaru*	<i>ra, wa, wa, a, Da</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>ø, -i</i>	<i>gu, wu, lu, ru,</i>
Walmajarri*	<i>ta, ja, ka+ø</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>ø, i</i>	<i>ku, wu</i>

	IMP	Present	Past	Future
Non-Western Desert				
Nyangumarta	<i>a/i, wa, rra, lV</i>	<i>yinyV, nganyV, ninyV, rninyV</i>	<i>nyV, nya, na, rnV</i>	<i>uliny, ngkuliny, nkuliny, lkuliny,</i>
Northern Western Desert				
Yulparija		<i>nyi(n), yin, nganyin</i>		
Wangkajunga Kukatja Manyjilyjarra Pintupi	<i>ø, wa, rra, la</i>	<i>in, ngin, nin, rnin</i>	<i>ngu, ngu, nu, rnu</i>	<i>ku, ngku, nku, lku</i>
Southern Western Desert				
Ngaanyatjarra		<i>ra, ngkula, nkula, rra</i>		
Pitjantjatjara		<i>nyi, nganyi, nanyi, rni/ni,</i>		<i>ku, ngkuku, nkuku, lku</i>
Yankunytjatjara		<i>nyi, nyi, nyi, ni</i>		<i>ku ngkuku, nkuku, lku</i>
Gugada		<i>iny, nginy, niny, ni/rni</i>	<i>ung, ngung, nung, rnu/ rnung</i>	<i>ku</i>

8.6.4 Modal inflections

The northern Western Desert languages have a range of modal inflections that can be attached directly to the verb. These are compared in Table 8.6. In comparison the southern Western Desert languages, Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara, have only two identical inflections. The characteristic inflection *-payi* is a nominalising suffix in the southern languages and performs a number of functions. The *kija* suffix follows the *-nja* nominaliser in the southern languages.

Table 8.6: Mood Inflections in Western Desert languages

Inflection	Yulparija	Wangkajunga	Manyjilyjarra	Kukatja	Yankunytjatjara Pitjantjatjara
Irrealis and Irrealis stem	<i>ø ngku, nku, ø/ku, lku</i>				
Imperfective	<i>n</i>	<i>ma, mal, payi</i>	<i>ma, mal, payi</i>	<i>ma, mal</i>	
‘in order to’	<i>kuraku</i>			no data	
‘ought etc.’	<i>kura</i>	<i>kura</i>	<i>kura</i>	<i>kuwa</i>	
‘wants’	no data	<i>kija</i>	<i>kija</i>	<i>kija</i>	<i>nja +kija</i>
‘always’	<i>payi</i>	<i>payi</i>	no data	<i>payi</i>	<i>payi</i>
‘would have’	<i>mara</i>	<i>ngara, marra</i>	<i>ngara</i>	<i>mara</i>	
‘mustn’t/possible’	no data	<i>jaku</i>	<i>jaku</i>	<i>jaku</i>	

9 *Serial verb constructions*

Introduction

In Chapter 6 I discussed the bound pronouns which cross-reference grammatical functions in Wangkajunga and are compulsory for every main clause predicate. In this chapter I give an account of clauses that have more than one verb sharing the same bound pronouns. These verbs have no other grammatical form such as conjunctions or complementisers to link them to each other. I have used the term ‘serial verb constructions’ (SVCs) for these constructions. There are two main types of SVCs in Wangkajunga. The first type have two or more verbs with the same tense inflection. The second type has one verb with the special serial verb inflection followed by a tensed verb. Serial verb constructions are common in both conversations and narratives.

My analysis of SVCs is based predominantly on the proposals of Foley and Olson (1985), Crowley (1987) and Jarkey (1991). Verb serialisation is an important aspect of the grammar of the language and a comprehensive analysis is required to make a full description. The infrequent use of overt arguments, plus the use of the zero morpheme as the pronominal agreement clitic for third person singular subject and object make it difficult to fully describe the case of shared arguments.

In §9.1 I set out some examples to explain why I suggest Wangkajunga has complex predicates that can be labelled serial verbs. In §9.2 I give a brief description of the types of serial verbs based on the Foley and Olson work and I illustrate this with examples from Wangkajunga. This discussion of serial verb constructions is then divided into a further four sections. Section 9.3 introduces a small group of complex predicates consisting of the verb *jurntala* following another verb. Section 9.4 describes a group of same tense SVCs. Section 9.5 is a description of SVCs that are divided by the pronominal clitic cluster. Section 9.6 describes SVCs which have different aspect marking and §9.7 describes serial inflected SVCs. Finally, §9.8 compares the types of SVCs found in the northern languages of the Western Desert with the SVCs found in the southern Western Desert languages. These are compared with comparable functions in the northern non-Western Desert neighbours.

9.1 Complex predicates in Wangkajunga

I suggest that Wangkajunga has a set of verbal predicates that can be distinguished as complex predicates or serial verb constructions. There are two main reasons for suggesting this and I discuss each of them below. The reasons are:

1. The complex predicate is cross-referenced by a single set of cross-referencing bound pronouns.
2. The negative particle *wiya* has scope over the two verbs.

9.1.1 The cross-referencing bound pronouns

As I mentioned above, Wangkajunga has a complex system of bound pronouns that cross-reference subject, object and dative grammatical functions and animate locations, animate sources and animate companions. These cross-referencing bound pronouns are compulsory for every main clause predicate. Example 9.1 shows a simple sentence with the third person dual subject bound pronoun *-pula* cross-referencing *nyupararralu* ‘the parents’ and the third person plural object bound pronoun *-jananya* cross-referencing *jijirti* ‘the children’. There is a single predicate *kanyinin* ‘have, care for’. In example 9.2 *yipilu mamalu* ‘the mothers and fathers’ are cross-referenced by the third person plural subject bound pronoun *-ya*. In this example there is no overt nominal for the children. The first person plural exclusive object bound pronoun *-lanyaju* ‘us’ provides the information about them. This example has a complex predicate consisting of *pungkula* ‘used to kill’ and *yungama* ‘used to give’. The verbs share the subject *yipilu mamalu* ‘the mothers and fathers’, the object recipients cross-referenced by *-lanyaju* and the thing received, the bush food. There is no separate cross-referencing for the arguments of the second verb. This type of complex predicate is discussed in §9.6. In example 9.3 the two verbs occur before the third person plural object bound pronoun *-jananya*. Items that occur before the bound pronoun clitics are typically constituents in Wangkajunga. The fact that the two verbs occur before the clitic in 9.3 reinforces the notion that the two verbs are a single unit (§10.1.1). Also in example 9.3 it is the shared object that occurs after both verbs.

- 9.1 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa nyupa-rarra-lu larrku-ngka.*
 child-PL-3plO-3dIS have-PRES-PA spouse-PAIR-ERG valley-LOC
 The parents are caring for their children in the valley between the sandhills.
 [SWPN]
- 9.2 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka-ø pungku-la yunga-ma,*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3plS game-ABS hit-SER give-PSTIMP
bush tucker-ø.
 bush food-ABS.
 The mothers and fathers hunted bush foods and meat for us. [DHN]
- 9.3 *Crocodile-tu-ø wituka, jawa-lku tuwunju-nku-jananya*
 crocodile-ERG-3sgS also dig-FUT cover-FUT-3plO
 The crocodile as well, it buries its young. [SWPN]

9.1.2 The scope of the negative particle *wiya*

The negative particle *wiya* occurs in the initial position in a clause and negates the proposition that follows (§12.3). The is illustrated by example 9.4. In example 9.5 the negative has scope over the first verb only. The second verb in this example is the predicate of a second clause and has a separate bound pronoun *-rni* cross-referencing the first person singular object. If the particle *wiya* occurs before a complex predicate it negates the combined meaning of both verbs. This is illustrated in example 9.6. Example

9.7 with the negative particle before the second verb of the complex predicate was unacceptable to the consultant and can't have the meaning I have suggested.

- 9.4 *Wiya-n nantirr-pa pawu-lku!*
 NEG-2sgS hard-PA cook-FUT
 Don't you cook a hard [damper]! [NBK2:171]
- 9.5 *Wiya-ni-n waru yu-ngku. Yalta-rni yu-wa.*
 NEG-1sgO-2sgS hot give-FUT cold-1sgO give-IMP
 Don't give me hot [tea]. Give me cool [tea]. [NBK3:37]
- 9.6 *Wiya jiji-jananya-pula ju-nu ya-nu mangkaja-ngka.*
 NEG child-3plO-3dlS put-PST go-PST shelter-LOC
 They didn't leave the children in the shelter. [NBK3]
- 9.7 **Jiji-jananya-pula ju-nu wiya ya-nu mangkaja-ngka*
 child-3plO-3dlS put-PST NEG go-PST shelter-LOC
 *They put the children in the shelter but didn't go. [NBK3]

9.2 Types of serial verbs

A common description of serial verbs is that they are a series of verbs or verb phrase-like components, which are simply juxtaposed with no overt form of linkage such as conjunctions or complementisers (Jarkey 1991:80). According to this common description Wangkajunga has extremely productive serialisation in both texts and free speech. The common description is however, rather vague. Jarkey (1991) and Crowley (1987) have proposed a set of features that more adequately define the syntactic and semantic features of an SVC. This set is from Crowley (1987:38).

- i. All the verbs in the serial construction refer to subparts of a single overall event.
- ii. There is no intonational or grammatical marking of clause boundaries between the verbs.
- iii. There are tight restrictions on the nominal arguments associated with each verb.
- iv. There is no contrast in the basic inflectional categories of serialised verbs.

I have initially identified complex predicates on the basis of the compulsory agreement clitics and the scope of the negative particle. The complex predicates that I have identified can also be identified as serial verbs on the basis of this set of features.

In the literature, serial verbs are subcategorised according to the relationship between the nominal arguments for each of the verbs. These are discussed below with examples from Wangkajunga.

9.2.1 Same subject serialisation

In the first type of relationship between arguments of SVCs the two subjects of the serialised verbs are identical. This is the predominant serial verb construction in Wangkajunga. Examples 9.2 and 9.5 are SVCs of this type. Example 9.2 is repeated here as example 9.8. It has the serial verbs *pungkula* 'ERG hit ABS', and *yungama* 'ERG used to give ABS ABS'. The Ergative subjects *yipilu mamalu* 'the mothers and fathers' are shared by both verbs and cross-referenced by the same third person plural bound pronoun *-ya*

‘they’. Example 9.9 and 9.10 also illustrate same subject SVC. Example 9.9 has the two verbs *yanu* ‘went’ and *nyinatingu* ‘sat down’ which both have Absolutive subjects. The two verbs share the third person dual pronominal clitic, *-pula*, which agrees with the subject. The third example has the verb *wirrjarnu* ‘ran’ which has an Absolutive subject and *nyangu* ‘see’ which has an Ergative subject and Absolutive object. Both verbs share the \emptyset marked subject ‘she’. The construction has an object, the first person singular clitic – *rni* which occurs before both verbs although the verb that takes an object occurs after the intransitive verb. As a single predicate *nyangu* but not *wirrjarnu* has an objectCLAS

- 9.8 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka- \emptyset pungku-la*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3plS game-ABS hit-SER
 yunga-ma bush tucker- \emptyset .
 give-PSTHB bush.food-ABS
 The mothers and fathers hunted bush foods and meat for us. [DHN]
- 9.9 *Ya-nu-pula ngumpa-ngka nyina-ti-ngu.*
 go-PST-3dlS shade-LOC sit-ACT-PST
 They went and sat in the shade. [SWPM]
- 9.10 *Malaku-rni- \emptyset wirrja-rnu nya-ngu.*
 return-1sgO- \emptyset run-PST see-PST
 She ran back to see me. [BRNS]

9.2.2 Switch subject serialisation

The second type of relationship between the nominal arguments is one in which the object of the first verb is identical to the subject of the second verb. This is one type of construction in which the multiple verbs do not share the same pronominal subject agreement clitic. Crowley (1987:39) uses the terms switch-subject serial verbs or serial causative verbs for these types of SVCs. There are very few examples of this type of SVC in Wangkajunga. Examples 9.11 and 9.12 are two possible examples. Example 9.11 is ambiguous. It has participants in the third person singular which are cross-referenced by zero and has two possible interpretations. The consultants’ translation did not clarify the ambiguity.

1. The dog, *wirtalu*, marked with Ergative case followed the cat *pujikatpa* marked with Absolutive case. This is the case frame for the verb *wanala* ‘follow’. The intransitive verb *tikarlpakarnu* has an Absolutive subject *pujikatpa* ‘cat’. The serial construction has the object of the first verb *wanarnu* as the subject of the second verb *tikarlpakarnu*. The ordering of the verbs and the insertion of the object *pujikatpa* between the verbs adds evidence for this interpretation.
 2. In the second interpretation the Ergative marked dog, *wirtalu* is the subject of both verbs in the SVC. In this interpretation the dog does both the climbing and the following. The event of the dog climbing the tree is unlikely.
- 9.11 *Wana-rnu pujikatpa tikarlpaka-rnu wirta-lu.*
 follow-PST cat-PA climbed up-PST dog-ERG
 1. The dog followed the cat who had climbed up [the tree]. [SWPN3]
 2. The dog climbed the tree and followed the cat.

In example 9.12 the two verbs *nyinangu* 'sat' and *pawurnu* 'cooked' are cross-referenced by the third person dual subject cross-referencing clitic *-pula*. The third verb in the clause is *yunmirringu* 'became cooked'. The subject of this verb is the object of the other two verbs, the meat that was cooked.

- 9.12 *Nyina-ngu-pula pawu-nu yunmi-rri-ngu.*
 stay-PST-3dIS cook-PST cooked-INCH-PST
 They stayed there and cooked it until it was ready. [SWPM1]

9.2.3 Multiple object serialisation

A third type of serialisation, is one in which the same subject transitive verbs each have their own objects. The result is a syntactically complex verb phrase with more than one object. Crowley (1987) says this type of serialisation is relatively rare in the world's languages and he suggests that they are diachronically rather unstable. This type of SVC is possible but not common in Wangkajunga. Examples 9.13 illustrates a possible multiple object SVC.

In example 9.13 the SVC has three verbs *ngalangu* 'eat', *jawarnu* 'dig' and *tuntunjunu* 'cover'. Although each of these verbs take Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects they cannot all share the same object. The semantics of the verbs and the context of the utterance suggest a different object for *jawarnu* 'dig'. The speaker is describing a situation in which they are eating beef and then digging a hole and burying what is left. In this context it is unlikely that the beef, which is the object of *ngalangu* and *tuntunjunu*, would also be the object of *jawarnu*.

- 9.13 *Ngala-ngu-laju-ø jawa-rnu tuntunju-nu.*
 eat-PST-1plexS-3sgO dig-PST bury-PST
 We ate [some] and then dug [a hole] and buried it. [DHN]

9.2.4 Ambient serialisation

Crowley (1987:40) recognises a fourth type of serial construction which he terms 'ambient-serialisation'. The two verbs in this type of construction have no shared arguments because the second verb makes a general predication about the world without referring to any particular participants. Wangkajunga has a serial construction in which the second verb makes a predication about the natural state of the world. Goddard (1985:106) has termed a similar SVC in Yankunytjatjara an 'ambient change' construction. In example 9.14 the subject of the first verb *parrawanarnu* 'followed around' is cross-referenced by the first person plural exclusive bound pronoun *-laju*. The object of *wanarnu* is *nyupararrakujupa* 'another couple'. The second verb *mungarringu* 'became night' is one of a small set of Wangkajunga verbs, mainly about weather and the elements, that can have 'empty' subjects translated as 'it' (§10.4.4). This verb does not share any arguments with *wanarnu*.

- 9.14 *Parra-wana-rnu-laju munga-rri-ngu nyupa-rarra-kujupa.*
 around-follow-PST-1plexS dark-INCH-PST spouse-pair-ANOTH
 When it got dark we followed another couple around. [DHN]

Serial verbs can also be subcategorised according to the layers of the clause at which serialisation takes place. Much of the literature about the level of juncture of serial verbs is based on Foley and Olson's (1985) notion of the layer of the clause. There are three

different layers; the nucleus, the core and the periphery, and each layer has its own set of operators. The innermost layer is the nucleus that has operators such as aspect. The next layer is the core and its operators include the compulsory nominal arguments for a particular verb. The last and outermost layer is the periphery.

Operators in this layer are such things as the temporal and spatial settings of the event. Verb serialisation can take place at the nucleus or core layer.

In §9.5 I introduce SVCs that are separated by bound pronouns. The difference between these SVCs and those with contiguous verbs may be a difference between core and nuclear juncture. In §9.6 I discuss SVCs in which the inflections on the verbs differ in aspect. These are less tightly bound than the SVCs with verbs marked by the same tense. In §9.7 I discuss SVCs that have one verb marked by a serial inflection and a second verb marked for tense. These types of SVCs can be both tightly bound and loosely bound.

9.2.5 Numbers and distribution of serial verbs in Wangkajunga

Wangkajunga SVCs are composed of two verbs with the same tense (§9.4) or a verb with a serial inflection followed by a tensed verb (§9.7). SVCs with the same tense are common in conversations and informal texts. SVCs with serial markers are frequent in formal texts about the traditional life. The informal description of an illustration, '*Jirntirrijirntirra*', in the Appendix, is 118 words long and has three SVCs. Two are of the same tense tightly bound type (§9.4) and one is the characteristic type (§9.7). The first 120 words of the formal text, 'Childhood in the Desert', in the Appendix contain eight serial constructions. Three of these are same tense serial constructions but are composed of more than two verbs (§9.4). The other five SVCs in this text have serial marked verbs followed by a tensed verb. This type of serial verb is often used to describe hunting activities (§9.7).

9.2.6 Iconicity and Wangkajunga SVCs

The ordering of verbs in Wangkajunga SVCs is iconic. The iconic use of language is explored in a volume edited by Haiman (1985). The first verb of an SVC describes the first part of an action depicted by the SVC. This applies to same tense SVCs where the verbs describe a single action or serial inflected SVCs where the actions are consecutive parts of a single event. For example the same tense SVC *junu yanu* 'left' has two components in the one action, firstly, leaving something or someone behind and secondly, moving away. The leaving behind component must occur before the moving away. The ordering of the verbs in the SVC with *junu* 'put' first and *yanu* 'moving away' second reflects the actual order of the two components. I comment further on the iconicity of SVCs in the following discussion.

9.3 Compound or serial – the verb *jurntala*?

The texts contain a small number of examples of clauses with a predicate composed of the verb *jurntala* followed by the verb *marra* 'ERG get ABS', or the verb *ngara* 'ABS stand'. This is the only example I have found of a verb in an SVC that does not otherwise occur independently. There are no examples of the *marra jurntala* sequence with a pause or with the pronominal clitic cluster between the two verbs.

Example 9.15 illustrates the complex predicate *marra jurntala*. In this example *jurntala* follows the verb *marra* 'get'. As a single predicate verb *marra* has an Ergative subject and

Absolutive object. In the first example the subject, *yirnalū*, the man, has Ergative case and the objects, the flour, tea, sugar and beef, have Absolutive case. This is cross-referenced by the third person plural clitic *-jananya*.

- 9.15 *Yirna-lu ma-rra jurnta-la flour-jananya flour tii*
man-ERG get-NARPST pick.up-NARPST flour(E)-3plO flour tea

sugar an puluk.

sugar CONJ beef(K)

The man would go and pick them up, flour, tea, sugar and beef. [DHN]

Unlike the compound constructions discussed in Chapter 7, both verbs in a *jurntala* construction are inflected for tense. However, unlike other verbs in complex predicates, the verb *jurntala* does not occur independently. The form *jurntala* is not attested without either *marra* ‘get’, or *ngara* ‘stand’. Marsh (1992) says *jurntala* is not attested without *marra* in Manyjilyjarra.

Marsh (1992) glosses *jurntala* as ‘pick up’, ‘collect’ or ‘bring back’. These glosses are appropriate for my *marra jurntala* examples but not for the example with *ngarangu jurntarnu*. My consultant translated *marra jurntala* as ‘go and pick up’ and *ngarangu jurntarnu* as ‘stopped there and looked around’. Example 9.16 illustrates the use of *jurntala* with the single argument stance verb *ngara* ‘stand’. Both verbs are marked with the past tense and the two verbs are pronounced as one word without a pause. The primary stress is on the first syllable of *ngara* and on the first syllable of *jurntala*. The zero third person singular morpheme agrees with the subject of *ngara*.

- 9.16 *Ya-nu-ø kayili, ngara-ngu jurnta-rnu.*
go-PST-3sgS north stand-PST ??-PST

She went north and stood looking around for it. [SWPN]

My elicited examples indicate that it is the first verb of the *jurntala* construction that determines the case of the subject. The first verb is the one that can occur independently. In the elicited example 9.17 the verb *jurntala* occurs with *ngara* ‘stand’ which takes Absolutive subjects. The subject in this example *tujukujarra* ‘the two women’ is marked Absolutive. In the elicited example 9.18 *jurntala* occurs with *manu* ‘got’ which takes an Ergative subject and an Absolutive object. In this example the subject *tujukujarralu* ‘the women’ has Ergative marking and *jiji* ‘child’ has Absolutive marking.

- 9.17 *Tuju-kujarra-pula ngara-ngu jurnta-rnu tali-ngka*
woman-DUAL-3dIS stand-PST ??-PST sandhill-LOC
The two women stood still on the sandhill. [NBK3]

- 9.18 *Tuju-kujarra-lu-pula jiji ma-nu jurnta-rnu.*
woman-DUAL-ERG-3dIS child get-PST ??-PST
The two women collected the child. [NBK3]

9.4 Same tense serial verbs in Wangkajunga

The SVCs under this heading have the following characteristics:

- i. there are no more than two verbs in the construction
- ii. the two verbs are pronounced without a pause between them
- iii. both verbs have the same tense, mood and aspect

- iv. many of them are identical to single lexical items, such as ‘fetch’ and ‘leave’ or phrasal verbs such as ‘lined up’ and ‘threw away’, in English
- v. the verbs occur together in the clause
- vi. the verbs share core arguments.

9.4.1 Verbs and arguments in same tense SVCs

I am suggesting that the verbs in the following section are nuclear layer junctures in Wangkajunga on the evidence of the sharing of subject agreement clitics, the pronunciation of the two verbs without a pause between them and on the types of meaning they express. Foley and Olson (1985:40) have three tests for the case of nuclear juncture SVCs in Barai. Besides pronunciation they have examples in which certain adverbs and negatives have the scope over the whole SVC. The scope of the negative was illustrated in §9.1 above. A number of types of verbs can be combined in same tense SVCs in Wangkajunga. SVCs formed from two intransitive verbs are the least common.

In some of the following examples the two verbs in the SVC differ in their core arguments. In example 9.23 the SVC *pawurnu* ‘cooked’ has two arguments Ergative and Absolutive, and *yungu* ‘gave’ has three arguments one Ergative and two Absolutive. Another SVC, 9.24 has *ngurrirnu* ‘searched’ with Ergative and Dative arguments and *manu* ‘got’ with Ergative and Absolutive. Example 9.25 is similar. In nuclear SVCs the arguments of the core relate to the entire nucleus.

When a nucleus is complex, ... the core arguments are a function of the whole nucleus, not any particular verb within it. ...

In the simplest cases, the core arguments of a complex nucleus are simply the sum of the arguments of the constituent verbs. (Foley and Van Valin 1984:44)

In more complex cases where the core arguments are not simply the sum of the frames of each of the verbs, for example where an instrument or beneficiary, such as with the verb *yungu*, is introduced, Foley and van Valin say that SVCs act as valence increasing devices (§9.4.4)

The following combinations of verbs in SVCs have been attested. I have labelled them according to the core arguments of the verbs.

The case of the Subject and non-Subject argument in same tense Serial Verbs is set out in Table 9.1. In example 9.21 the first verb is *yanu* ‘ABS go’ and the second is *jikinu* ‘ERG drink ABS’. In this example the Subject argument has Absolutive case. The same tense serial constructions which have *ngurrirnu* ‘ERG search for DAT’ as the first verb have Ergative subjects and Absolutive marked non-subject arguments although the non-subject argument is cross-referenced by a Dative bound pronoun (examples 9.24 and 9.25). Same tense serial verbs with *yungu* ‘ERG give ABS, ABS’ are discussed in §9.4.3. The non-subject arguments in these constructions are Absolutive (examples 9.23 and 9.45).

Table 9.1: Case of first and second verb in same tense Serial Verbs

Example	1st Verb	2nd Verb	Case of Subject	Case of non-Subject Argument
9.21	<i>yanu</i> ABS went	<i>jikinu</i> ERG drink ABS	Absolutive	

Example	1st Verb	2nd Verb	Case of Subject	Case of non-Subject Argument
9.22, 9.31	<i>junu</i> ERG put ABS	<i>yanu</i> ABS went	Ergative	Absolutive
9.24, 9.25	<i>ngurrirnu</i> ERG search for DAT	<i>manu</i> ERG get ABS	Ergative	Absolutive
9.26	<i>nyangama</i> ERG look for DAT	<i>ngurrinma</i> ERG search for DAT	possibly Ergative	Dative
9.23	<i>pawurnu</i> ERG cook ABS	<i>yungu</i> ERG give ABS, ABS	Ergative	Absolutive

Two verbs with Absolutive subjects

Example 9.19 has two verbs that take Absolutive subjects. This example has a secondary predicate *wanka* ‘alive’ that describes how the shared subject of the SVC carried out the action of taking off. The form *wanka* is Absolutive in agreement with the subjects of both *pakarnu* ‘rose’ and *yanu* ‘went’.

- 9.19 *Paka-rnu-ø ya-nu, wanka*
 rise-PST-3sgS go-PST alive
 It took off, alive! [KNG]

Two verbs with Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects

Example 9.20 has the two verbs *kati* ‘take’ and *jurra* ‘put’. These verbs have Ergative subjects and Absolutive objects. Both the subject, *yirnalu* ‘man’ and object, *flour watpalakurnu* ‘European flour’ are third person singular and are shared by both verbs.

- 9.20 *Kati-ø ju-rra-ø-ø flour watpala-kurnu yirna-lu.*
 take-NARPST put-NARPST-3sgS-3sgO flour European-POSS man-ERG
 A man used to steal the European’s flour. [NBK2:38]

First verb with Absolutive subject, second verb with Ergative subject and Absolutive object

Example 9.21 has two clauses each with what appear to be examples of the SVC *yanu jikinu* that I have translated as ‘got a drink’. I have identified *yanu jikinu* as an SVC because the two verbs are pronounced without a pause between them. This SVC consists of the motion verb *yanu* ‘went’, which has an Absolutive subject and *jikinu* ‘drank’ that has an Ergative subject and Absolutive object. In both clauses it is the first verb, *yanu* that determines the case of the shared subject.¹ Both *puntu* ‘man’ in the first clause and *tuju* ‘woman’ in the second clause have Absolutive case.

¹ Another example of a SVC with the verb *yanu* could be provided by example 4.18. This could be an example of a loosely bound same tense SVC with the two verbs *yanu* ‘ABS go’ and *palipungu* ‘ERG find ABS’. In this example the Subject argument has Ergative Case.

- 9.21 *Puntu ya-nu jiki-nu ngaa. Tuju ya-nu jiki-nu kalyu-kujupa.*
 man go-PST drink-PST DEM woman go-PST drink-PST water-ANOTH
 The man got a drink at this one and the woman got a drink at another waterhole.
 [PNTGS]

First verb with Ergative subject and Absolutive object, second verb with Absolutive subject

In example 9.22 the two verbs are *junu* ‘put’ and *yanu* ‘go’. As single predicates *junu* has Ergative subject and Absolutive object arguments and *yanu* has an Absolutive subject. The SVC has a third person dual pronominal clitic cross-referencing the Ergative marked *nyupararralu* ‘the parents’ and a third person plural pronominal clitic cross-referencing the Absolutive marked *jiji* ‘children’. In this example it is also the first verb *junu* ‘put’ that determines the case of the shared subject that is *nyupararralu* ‘the parents’.

- 9.22 *Jiji-jananya-pula ju-nu ya-nu mangkaja-ngka nyupa-rarra-lu*
 child-3plO-3dlS put-PST go-PST shelter-LOC spouse-PAIR-ERG
 The parents left the children in the shelter. [SWPM1]

First verb with Ergative subject and Absolutive object, second verb with Ergative subject and two Absolutive objects

In example 9.23 there is a transitive verb *pawula* ‘cook’ and a ditransitive verb *yuwa* ‘give’. The subject of both verbs is the Ergative marked *tilpulu* ‘mother’. The object of *pawula* ‘cook’ is the thing left in the coals. The verb *yuwa* ‘give’ has two objects, the first person singular beneficiary *-rni* and the third person singular ‘meat’ that has the location *junuyankunjangka kilyirrja* ‘left in the coals’. The fact that these types of SVCs have nuclear juncture is emphasised by this example where the two verbs, *junu* ‘put’ and *yanku* ‘go’, in an SVC in example 9.22 above, are jointly nominalised by the one morpheme *-nja*.² The SVCs with *yungu* as the second verb are discussed below in §9.5.

- 9.23 *Tilpu-lu-rni-ø pawu-rnu yu-ngu ju-nu-ya-nku-nja-ngka*
 mother-ERG-1sgO-3sgS cook-PST give-PST put-PST-go-IRR-NOMZ-LOC
kilyirr-ja.
 coals-LOC
 My mother had cooked [the meat] for me that was left in the coals. [BRNS]

First verb Ergative and Dative, second verb Ergative and Absolutive

Example 9.24 has the two verbs *ngurrirnu* ‘search’ and *manu* ‘get’. As single predicates *ngurrirnu* has Ergative subject and Dative object and *manu* has Ergative subject and Absolutive object. The example has an agreement clitic cross-referencing a dative argument although the entity being searched for *warta* ‘wood’ is not marked with the dative case. The agreement for the shared subject is the zero morpheme. I prepared example 9.25 with *kumpupajaku* ‘for the bush tomatoes’. My consultant repeated it as *kumpupaja* without the Dative marking.

² This suggests that this tightly bound SVC can be analysed as a single word when it is nominalised.

- 9.24 *Tuju-lu-ra-ø* *ngurri-rnu ma-nu warta.*
 woman-ERG-3sgDAT-3sgS search-PST get-PST wood
 The woman foraged for wood. [NBK2]
- 9.25 *Jiji-lu-ra-ø* *kumpupaja ngurri-nu ma-nu.*
 child-ERG-3sgDAT-3sgS bush.tomato search-PST get-PST
 The child foraged for bush tomatoes. [NBK3]

First verb Ergative and optional dative, second verb Ergative and dative.

The next example has the two verbs *nyangama* ‘look’ and *ngurrinma* ‘search’. As a single predicate *nyangama* ‘seeing’ has an Ergative subject and optional Dative object. In example 9.26 the Dative argument is cross-referenced in the pronominal clitic cluster by *-ra*.

- 9.26 *Purtu-parra-ngu-laju-ra* *road-ku parranyanga-m ngurrin-ma.*
 in vain-around-PST-1plS-3sgDAT road-DAT around-look-PSTIMP search-PSTIMP
 We went around in vain looking around and searching for the road. [KNG]

9.4.2 The meaning of same tense serial verb constructions – motion verbs

The actions of both verbs of these SVCs are part of the same event and are happening at the same time. The meaning of the two verbs can often be translated as one lexical item in English. Many of these same tense SVCs describe events of motion. Jarkey (1991:157) makes the following comment about motion SVCs.

Nowhere is it more clear than in the case of Motion SVCs that verb serialisation is a device for expressing a single situation in terms of various component aspects. It is a commonplace that where a language such as English, with a considerable degree of lexical complexity in this semantic sphere, will use a single lexical item such as take or bring, a serialising language will ‘break up’ such an action into components such as carry go or carry come respectively.

Jarkey (1991:157) adds that where a non-serialising language uses directional adpositions or adverbs to indicate the direction of a motion event, a serialising one will add another verb such as ascend, go, cross over, return or leave.

There are many Wangkajunga examples of motion SVCs with the verb *yarra* ‘go’. Examples 9.19, 9.21 and 9.22 above are SVCs with motion verbs. Further examples are set out below. The ordering of verbs reflects the ordering of the movement in the composite action.

***yarra marra* ‘go’ and ‘get’, ‘fetch’**

- 9.27 *Kalyu ya-rra ma-rra-ju, yurra-rna!*
 water go-IMP get-IMP-1sgDAT thirst-1sgS
 Fetch some water for me. I’m thirsty. [NBK2:43]

***yarra kati* ‘go’ and ‘take’, ‘carry’, ‘bring’**

- 9.28 *Ya-rra kati-ø-ni wana-wu.*
 go-IMP take-IMP-DIR digging stick-VOC
 Bring the digging stick over here! [KNG]

***yarra nyawa* ‘go’ and ‘see’, ‘visit’**

- 9.29 *Ngayu-kurnu yipi-rna ya-nku nya-ku.*
 1sg-POSS mother-1sgS go-FUT see-FUT
 I'll visit my mother. [NBK3:63]

***pakala yarra* ‘go’ and ‘get up’, ‘take off’**

This example is repeated from 9.19.

- 9.30 *Paka-rnu ya-nu wanka!*
 get up-PST go-PST alive
 It took off, alive ! [KNG]

***jurra yarra* ‘put’ and ‘go’, ‘leave’**

- 9.31 *Yipi-lu-jananya ju-nku ya-nku jiji.*
 mother-ERG-3plO put-FUT go-FUT child
 The mother will leave the children. [NBK2:224]

Constructions with the verb, or preverb, *wirrijala* ‘run’ refer to rapid movement.

***wirrijarnu nyangu* ‘run’ and ‘look’, ‘find out’**

This example is repeated from 9.10.

- 9.32 *Malaku-rni-ø wirrja-rnu nya-ngu.*
 return-1sgO-3sgS run-PST look-PST
 She ran back to see me. [BRNS]

***wirrijalkatingu jarrpa* ‘jump over’ and ‘enter’, ‘jumped into’**

- 9.33 *Wirrijalka-ti-ngu jarrpa-ngu yuka-ngka mankarl-ja.*
 jump.over-ACT-PST enter-PST grass-LOC spinifex.grass-LOC
 It ran and jumped over into the spinifex. [KNG]

Other motion verbs occur in SVCs describing more specific types of movement such as ‘slipping’ and ‘pushing’. Example 9.34 describes the movement of water through a natural tunnel.

***maatirrin jarrpa* ‘flows through’**

- 9.34 *maa-ti-rri-n jarrpa-ø*
 DIR-ACT-INCH-PRES enter-IMP
 goes away right through

***yurnturnu wirrupungu* ‘pushed’ and ‘threw’, ‘pushed over’, ‘shoved’**

- 9.35 *Ngayu-kurnu-lu-rni teacher-lu yurntu-rnu wirrupu-ngu.*
 1sg-POSS-ERG-1sgO teacher-ERG push-PST throw-PST
 My teacher pushed me over. [NBK2:155]

***jirralyanu punkarnu* ‘slipped’, ‘fell’**

- 9.36 *Jirralya-nu-rna punka-rnu.*
 slip-PST-1sgS fall-PST
 I slipped down. [NBK2:155]

9.4.3 The meaning of same tense serial verb constructions – process verbs

More complex process verbs, although not as commonly as the motion verbs, can be combined in same tense SVCs in Wangkajunga. SVCs of this type occur with *marra* ‘get’, *kati* ‘take’, *ngurrila* ‘search’, *takurljunu* ‘put into’, *pawula* ‘cook’, *jawala* ‘dig’, *tuwunjunu* ‘bury’, *yungkala* ‘grind’ and *yampalyjunu* ‘cook damper’.

kati jurra ‘take’ and ‘put’, ‘keep’, ‘steal’

- 9.37 *Kati-ø ju-rra flour watpala-kurnu.*
 take-IMP put-IMP flour European-POSS
 Steal the European’s flour. [NBK2:38]

Examples 9.38, repeated from 9.24, and 9.43 illustrate gathering and collecting activities that were common in the traditional desert life. The SVC in each case describes a single event, the food gathering, wood collecting, or grinding and cooking which consists of the subparts of looking around and getting or putting it into the carrying dish.

ngurrirnu manu ‘search’ and ‘get’, ‘forage’

- 9.38 *Tuju-lu-ra-ø ngurri-rnu ma-nu warta*
 woman-ERG-3sgDAT-3sgS search-PST get-PST wood
 The woman foraged for wood. [NBK2]

manu takurljunu ‘get’ and ‘put into’, ‘gather up’, ‘collect’

- 9.39 *Kuka-pula ma-nu takurlju-nu.*
 game-3dlS get-PST put into-PST
 They gathered up the meat. [SWPM1]

pawurnu takurljunu ‘cook’ and ‘put into container’

- 9.40 *Kuka-ya pawu-rnu takurlju-nu piti-ngka.*
 game-3plS cook-PST put into-PST wooden.dish-LOC
 They cooked the meat and put it into the coolamon. [SWPM1]

yungkarnu yampalyjunu ‘grind’ and ‘put in coals’

- 9.41 *Tuju-lu yunka-rnu yampalyju-nu waru-ngka.*
 woman-ERG grind-PST put in coals-PST fire-LOC
 The woman ground it and put it in the coals of the fire. [NBK2]

jawarnu tuntunjunu ‘dig’ and ‘bury’

- 9.42 *Ngala-ngu-laju jawa-rnu tuntunju-nu.*
 eat-PST-1plexS dig-PST bury-PST
 We ate some and then dug a hole and buried it. [DHN]

pungama yirrijunama ‘hunt by sending dogs after game’

- 9.43 *Punga-ma-ya yirrijuna-ma winkuma.*
 hit-PSTIMP-3plS send.dogs.after-PSTIMP possum
 They used to be hunting possums by sending dogs after them. [DHN]

9.4.4 The meaning of same tense serial verb constructions – adding a beneficiary

A number of Wangkajunga SVC are made up of a process verb plus the ditransitive verb *yuwa* ‘give’. These constructions add a beneficiary argument to the meaning of the first verb. The benefactive *yuwa* follows the iconic ordering of all SVCs and is always the second verb in the construction. The verb *yuwa* has Ergative subjects and two Absolutive non-subject arguments. Accordingly the beneficiary argument in these SVCs is marked Absolutive and cross-referenced by Absolutive bound pronouns (example 9.45 and 9.46). These are illustrated in examples 9.44, 9.45. and 9.46. Example 9.44 is repeated here from 9.23.

pawurnu yungu ‘cooked for’

- 9.44 *Tilpu-lu-rni-ø pawu-rnu yu-ngu junu-ya-nku-nja-ngka*
 mother-ERG-1sgO-3sgS cook-PST give-PST put-go-IRR-NOM-LOC
kilyirr-ja.
 coals-LOC
 My mother had cooked [the meat] for me that was left in the coals. [BRNS]

pungama yungama ‘hunt for’

- 9.45 *Ngayu-kurnu-lu yipi-lu kamu mama-lu-pula-jananya*
 1sg-POSS-ERG mother-ERG CONJ father-ERG-3dIS-3plO
jii-n-pa pungama yunga-ma.
 DEM-PL-PA hit-PSTHB give-PSTHB
 My mother and father used to hunt these for us. [CLTLS]

katiku yungku ‘bring for’

- 9.46 *kuka-kurhu-pula-jananya kati-ku yu-ngku jiji ngaa-n-pa*
 meat-HAV-3dIS-3plO take-FUT give-FUT child DEM-PL-PA
 They[two] are bringing the meat for these kids. [SWPN1]

9.4.5 Serial verb constructions with the negative verb *wiyala*

Serial verb constructions formed with the negative verb *wiyala* indicate the cessation of the activity of the first verb. The attested examples of this SVC have the bound pronoun between the two verbs (§9.5 below).

- 9.47 *Yu-ngu-jananya wiya-rnu, jarlaljarlaljalan*
 give-PST-3plO finish-PST too.much.asking.round
 She’s not giving it to them anymore, there was too much nagging about it. [NBK2:52]
- 9.48 *ngala-ngu-ya wiya-rnu*
 eat-PST-3plS finish-PST
 They’ve eaten it all up. [NBK2:52]

9.5 The position of the pronominal clitic in SVCs

Wangkajunga has a group of SVCs that have the same form as the same tense constructions discussed above except that they have a bound pronoun between the two verbs. Goddard's (1985:103) description of serial verbs in Yankunytjatjara has an illustration of two SVCs with the same verbs *yankula* 'go' and *urarnu* 'get'. The difference between the two SVCs is the position of the object argument. When the object precedes both verbs the SVC is a single intonation group and Goddard translates it as 'went and got'. When the object is inserted between the two verbs the intonation is divided and Goddard translates it as 'having gone, she got'. Goddard suggests that this is equivalent to a change in the level of juncture of the SVC.

Foley and Olson (1985:38) quote an example from Barai that is similar. The difference between the two examples of nuclear and core juncture is the position of the object argument. When the object argument is between the two verbs the juncture is at the core level rather than the nucleus. At this level, the core arguments of each nucleus are selected independently and are core arguments only of their specific nuclei. The example from Foley and Olson (1985:38) is repeated below.

Barai:

- a. *fu fi fase isoe*
he sit letter write
'He sat writing a letter.' (Nuclear)
- b. *fu fase fi isoe*
he letter sit write
'He sat down and wrote a letter.' (Core)

The separation of the two verbs in a Wangkajunga SVC may also mean a change in the level of juncture and a corresponding difference in meaning. There is clearly a change in the intonation, as the two verbs in the split construction cannot be pronounced without normal interword pauses. The difference in meaning between the tightly bound SVCs without a pause and these SVCs is subtle. I have followed Goddard and assumed that they are joined at a different level of the clause. Further investigation is needed to clarify the difference in meaning. I set out some examples below and estimate the differences in meaning between the two forms.

In the previous section I suggested that same tense SVCs with motion verbs are co-temporal in that the two subparts of the event are happening at the same time. The separation of the two verbs in these SVCs results in a change of the timing of the subparts of the event in that they are consecutive rather than co-temporal. The translations of these examples reflect the difference in timing.

yarra 'go' and *marra* 'get'

The verbs in example 9.49, repeated from 9.27, are contiguous. The same verbs in example 9.50 are separated by the bound pronoun *-rna* which cross-references first person singular subject. The translations reflect the differences in meaning.

- 9.49 *Kalyu ya-rra ma-rra-ju, Yurra-rna!*
water go-IMP get-IMP-1sgDAT thirst-1sgS
Fetch some water for me. I'm thirsty. [NBK2:43]

- 9.50 *Ya-nku-rna ma-nku Nada*
 go-FUT-1sgS get-FUT name
 I'll go and get Nada. [NBK2:49]

yanku 'go' and nyaku 'see'

This example is a repetition of 9.29. In this construction the SVC describes an activity that is more than movement towards something or somebody and looking at it. Interaction for a particular duration of time is implicit in the speaker's visit to her mother. In the second example the speaker is just going to look at something that has been the point of a discussion.

In examples such as 9.52 the bound pronoun may be forced between the SVC because of the clitic second position rule. If the clitic has to occur in second position and there isn't a nominal in the clause, then the clitic must be inserted between the two verbs of the SVC.

- 9.51 *Ngayu-kurnu yipi-rna-ø ya-nku nya-ku.*
 1sg-POSS mother-1sgS-3sgO go-FUT see-FUT
 I will visit my mother. [NBK3:63]
- 9.52 *Ya-nku-rna-ø nya-ku.*
 go-FUT-1sgS-3sgO look-FUT
 I'll go and look at it. [NBK2:49]

yanku tatilku 'go and climb'

In example 9.53 the subject moves towards the hill and then climbs it.

- 9.53 *Ya-nku-rna tati-lku purli-ngka.*
 go-FUT-1sgS climb-FUT hill-LOC
 I'll go and climb a hill. [NBK2:183]

manu 'got' and takurljunu 'put into container'

This first example is repeated from 9.39.

- 9.54 *Kuka-pula ma-nu takurlju-nu.*
 game-3dIS get-PST put into-PST
 The two of them filled the coolamon with the food. [SWPM1]
- 9.55 *Ma-nu-pula takurlju-nu piti-ngka jarlu-ngka, minyirri.*
 get-PST-3dIS put into-PST wooden dish-LOC big-LOC very
 The two of them got the food and put it into a very big coolamon. [SWPM1]

junku 'put' and yanku 'go'

The SVC with *junu* 'put' and *yanu* 'went' is a common means of expressing 'leave' or 'left behind'. Example 9.56 is repeated from 9.22. The difference in meaning between this example and 9.57 that is an elicited example is the timing of the two parts. In example 9.57 the speaker is suggesting that she accompany the hearer to a particular place, leave her there and then continue on.

- 9.56 *Jiji-jananya-pula ju-nu ya-nu mangkaja-ngka nyupa-rarra-lu*
 child-3plO-3dIS put-PST go-PST shelter-LOC spouse-PAIR-ERG
 The parents left the children in the shelter. [SWPM1]

- 9.57 *Ju-nku-rna-nta ya-nku.*
 put-FUT-1sgS-2sgO go-FUT
 I'll leave you and go. [NBK2:122]

9.5.1 Contrasts in tightly and loosely bound SVCs

ngalangu 'ate' and jupujunu 'spat something, chewed on something'

Example 9.58 has the two forms, continuous verbs in an SVC and discontinuous verbs in an SVC, following each other. The first SVC is separated by the first person singular accessory bound pronoun *-rni*. The bound pronoun separating the first SVC is underlined. The passage comes from a story about how the speaker received severe burns to her arms when she was a child and how her mother treated her.

- 9.58 *Warta jipari, wajanu-rni, ngala-ngu-rni jupuju-nu,*
 bush 'jipari' say-PST-1sgO eat-PST-1sgACS spit.on-PST
ngala-ngu jupuju-nu³ jalaju-nu
 eat-PST chew.and.spit.on-PST spit.on-PST
 She told me, she chewed 'jipari' and spat it on me, she chewed and spat it,
 spat it on. [BRNS]

nyinangu 'stayed'; pakarnu 'got up'; yanu 'went'

Example 9.59 has three same-tense verbs sharing the same subject. The shared subject is cross-referenced by the first person plural exclusive bound pronoun *-laju*. The bound pronoun separates the first verb *nyinangu* 'stayed' from *pakarnu yanu* 'went off'. The first verb *nyinangu* is loosely bound to the construction and this connection is translated with the conjunction 'and'. The second and third verbs *pakarnu yanu* are tightly bound and translated with the phrasal verb 'went off'.

- 9.59 *Nyina-ngu-laju-ø paka-rnu ya-nu kakarra.*
 stay-PST-1plexS-3sgO get up-PST go-PST east.
 We stayed there and then we went off to the East. [DHN]

9.6 Serial verb constructions with different aspect markers

The SVCs under this heading have the following characteristics.

- i. a number of verbs can occur in the same clause,
- ii. the verbs in the SVC can be marked with different aspect,
- iii. SVCs may be of the same subject, switch subject or multi object serials,
- iv. there is a normal inter-word pause between each of the verbs.

Although SVCs with two verbs are the most common, as many as four verbs can occur in this second group of SVCs. The following example has four verbs all of which share the first person plural subject *-laju*. The three transitive verbs have the same third person singular object marked by the zero morpheme.

³ I have found no meaning difference between the two verbs *jupujunu* 'spit on' and *jalajunu* 'spit on'.

- 9.60 *Pu-wa-laju-ø yujunpu-wa ngalangala-ø nyina-ma.*
 hit-NARPST-1plexS-3sgO roast-NARPST eat-NARPST sit-PSTHB
 We would hunt, roast and eat [game] when we were staying in camp. [DHN]

Example 9.61 has the two transitive verbs *puwa* ‘hit’ and *ngala* ‘eat’ and an intransitive verb *yanama* ‘going’. All the verbs of this example again share the subject, in this case the first person singular *-rna*. The two transitive verbs share the third person singular object cross-referenced by zero.

- 9.61 *Pu-wa-rna-ø ngala-ø yipa yana-ma.*
 hit-PSTHB-1sgS-3sgO eat-PSTHB alone go-PSTIMP
 I used to hunt and eat when I was going alone. [DHN]

The actions depicted by both different aspect and same tense SVCs are subparts of a single overall event. This is one of Crowley’s (1987) necessary features of SVCs listed in §9.2. However there is a difference in the subparts of same tense SVCs and the subparts of different tense SVCs. Whereas same tense SVCs are a device for expressing a single situation which non-serialising languages often describe with a single lexical item, different aspect SVCs express a complex event consisting of a series of consecutive actions.

The inflections on each of the verbs in the SVC relate the timing of the subparts of the event and contrast completed with ongoing subparts. The order of the subparts is iconic in that the order of verbs is the order of the subparts of the actual event. In example 9.62 the speaker is describing the activities of the children who stay at home while the parents are hunting. The children have been involved in several activities and then they return to the camp. The first verb *yarra* is perfective and refers to the completed part of the event and the second verb, *nyinama* ‘used to stay’, is imperfective and refers to the ongoing part of the event.

- 9.62 *Malaku-laju ya-rra nyina-ma.*
 return-1plexS go-PSTHB stay-PSTIMP
 We would go back and rest. [DHN]

Example 9.63, repeated from 9.60 above, is similar and refers to the same context. The speaker is again describing the activities of the children at the camp. The activities of ‘hunting’ *puwa*; ‘roasting’ *yujunpuwa*; and ‘eating’ *ngalangala* are described as completed and marked as perfective. The activity of ‘staying in the camp’, *nyinama*, has no endpoint and is marked as imperfective.

- 9.63 *Pu-wa-laju-ø yujunpu-wa ngalangala-ø nyina-ma.*
 hit-NARPST-1plexS-3sgO roast-NARPST eat-NARPST sit-PSTHB
 We would hunt, roast and eat [game] when we were staying in camp. [DHN]

9.7 SVCs with serial markers

The SVCs in this group differ from the SVCs described in the previous groups in three ways

1. One verb in the construction is marked by a serial marker.
2. Every class of verb has the potential to be marked by the serial marker and be a member of an SVC.

3. The serial marker suggests that one part of the event is completed before the other parts.
4. The serial marked verb usually occurs first.

These three features could suggest a reanalysis of this group of SVCs as subordinate clauses rather than serial verbs. Perhaps the serial markers, *-la* and *-ra*, are forms of linkage between the clauses. Bowe (1990:89) analyses the same *-la* and *-ra* inflections in Pitjantjatjara as a special kind of subordination that she terms ‘merged subordination’. The reason for this label is that the *-la* and *-ra* subordinate clauses are syntactically different from the *-nja* nominalised subordinations in Pitjantjatjara.

I have analysed these inflections as serial inflections rather than nominalisations in Wangkajunga because of their inability to take nominal case inflections or derivational suffixes. There are no examples of the serial forms with further suffixes.

The serial inflections for Wangkajunga verbs are set out in Table 9.2. The serial inflections were also included in Table 8.2 of Chapter 8.

Table 9.2: Serial forms of sample lexemes in the four verb classes

Verb class	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-rra</i>	<i>-la</i>
Serial form	<i>nyina-ra</i>	<i>pungkul-a</i>	<i>yanku-la</i>	<i>paja-ra/paja-la</i>

The verbs in this construction are still ordered iconically. The verbs in the serial verb construction are ordered according to the ordering of actions in the complex event. The serial marked verb typically occurs before the finite verb. Example 9.64, repeated from 9.2, is an example of an SVC with the first verb with serial marking. The activity of the first verb *pungkula* ‘hunt’ occurs before the activity of the second verb *yungama* ‘used to give’. Both verbs share the Ergative subject *yipilu*, *mamalu* ‘the mothers and fathers’, and the object *kuka* ‘game’.

- 9.64 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka pu-ngku-la, yunga-ma.*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3pLS game hit-IRR-SER give-PSTIMP
 Our mothers and fathers used to give us game after they had been hunting. [DHN]

The order of verbs in an SVC may be altered if one of the activities is in focus. This is illustrated by example 9.65 where the type of food they were given is in focus rather than the activity of hunting. In this example the finite verb *yungama* ‘giving’ occurs before the serial marked verb *pungkula* ‘hunting’. This example also shows that the verbs of these SVCs are not always contiguous. In example 9.65 the two verbs are separated by the nominal *kukanga* ‘the food’ that is in focus.

- 9.65 *Jii-ngulyu-lanyaju-ya yunga-ma kuka-nga pu-ngku-la, bushman.*
 DEM-EMPH-1plexO-3pLS give-PSTIMP game-FOC hit-IRR-SER traditional
 That’s the sort of bush food they used give us after they had been hunting. [DHN]

9.7.1 The meaning of serial verb constructions – traditional activities

Serial Verb Constructions composed of a serial marked verb and a finite verb provide conventional short cuts for speakers to discuss the complex hunting and gathering activities that were daily events in their traditional lives. These SVCs are most common in stories about the speakers’ childhoods in the Australian desert. These most common SVCs of this type include the transitive verbs of hitting, spearing, giving and eating. This type of

SVC is illustrated by examples 9.66, 9.67 and 9.68. Example 9.68 shows that this type of SVC can also be separated by the bound pronoun.

- 9.66 *Yurlta-ngka-laju pu-ngku-la, nga-lkun-ma.*
 at home-LOC-1plexS hit-IRR-SER eat-IRR-PSTIMP
 We, the ones at home, would be killing and eating something. [DHN]
- 9.67 *Wanapari-lampaju-ya wana-ra waka-rnu.*
 dingo-1plexDAT-3plS follow-SER spear-PST
 They would follow and spear a dingo for us. [BRNS]
- 9.68 *Palunya-janu-lu, wanapari, minyawu, ngalyangamuka, waltaki,*
 DEM-ABL-ERG dingo cat cat fox
pu-ngku-la-lanyaju-ya yunga-ma.
 hit-IRR-SER-1plexO-3plS give-PSTIMP
 After that they used to kill cats and foxes for us. [DHN]

Example 9.69 shows that the *-la* serial inflection can also be used for *la* class verbs.

- 9.69 *Puluman-pa-laju-ø yungka-la waka-rnu ngala-ngu.*
 beef-PA-1plexS-3sgO shoot-SER spear-PST eat-PST
 We shot and speared cattle and ate them. [DHN]

9.7.2 The meaning of serial verb constructions – stative verbs

Serial Verb Constructions with the first verb inflected with a serial marker and the second verb marked by tense are found with stative verbs. These are illustrated by examples 9.70 and 9.71. Example 9.70 has the intransitive verb *ngarri* ‘lie’ and the transitive *wanala* ‘follow’. The resulting SVC has a shared Absolutive subject. Example 9.71 has two intransitive verbs *yulala* ‘cry’ and *nyinama* ‘sitting’. Example 9.70 shows a very common construction in many areas of the Western Desert. This is discussed in §9.8.

- 9.70 *Ngaa-n-pa-janampa ngarri-ra wana-nin-pa warta.*
 DEM-PL-PA-3plDAT lie-SER follow-PRES-PA plants
 These ones lined up are their plants. [SWPMi]
- 9.71 *Yula-ra-rna nyina-ma.*
 cry-SER-1sgS sit-PSTIMP
 I was sitting crying. [BRNS]

9.7.3 The meaning of serial verb constructions – characteristic constructions

Serial Verb Constructions with serial inflected verbs are also used to describe characteristic activities. The first verb in this construction is marked with the serial inflection and the second verb with the characteristic suffix *-payi*. The construction combines transitive and intransitive verbs. Example 9.74 is repeated from 8.64 where I discuss the reason for the lack of Ergative case on the subject *wamulu* ‘eagle’. Example 9.73 refers to a situation where the subject is obliged to have a diet without red meat because she is in mourning.

- 9.72 *jirntirr-jirntirr wangu-rri-ra nyina-payi*
 willy.wagtail-RDP wag-INCH-SER sit-CHAR
 Willy wagtails are tail wagers. [SWPN1]
- 9.73 *Kalyu-karraja ngalku-la nyina-payi*
 water-DWELL eat-SER sit-CHAR
 She's eating fish. [NBK2:124]
- 9.74 *Wamulu waka-ra ngalku-payi ngalyangamuka, mala.*
 eagle pierce-SER eat-CHAR cat Rufous.hare.wallaby
 The eagle catches [by clawing] and eats cats and wallabies. [SWPN]
- 9.75 *Jarlu-jarlu kuka waka-ra nga-lku-la nyina-payi.*
 big-RDP meat pierce-SER eat-IRR-SER stay-CHAR
 It catches [by clawing] and eats quite big animals. [SWPN]

9.8 Serial verb constructions in the Western Desert and four northern non-Western Desert neighbours

This section is a comparison of the types of SVCs found in the northern languages of the Western Desert with the SVCs found in the southern Western Desert languages. These are compared with comparable functions in the northern non-Western Desert neighbours. Data on serial verbs is not available for all the northern Western Desert languages.

9.8.1 Inflections on verb combinations in the Western Desert

Table 9.3 sets out the serial verb inflections for the languages of the Western Desert. Although the forms are similar there is some difference between the northern and southern languages in the structure of serial verbs. The grammars of Pitjantjatjara (Eckert and Hudson 1988) and Yankunytjatjara, Goddard (1985) discuss only the serial inflection type SVCs (Bowe (1990) analyses these as merged subordinate clauses in Pitjantjatjara). These are also the only type of SVC discussed by Hansen and Hansen (1978) for Pintupi. The same tense and different aspect serials that I have discussed here are not mentioned for these grammars.

In their 1970 grammar of the Ngaanyatjarra⁴ language, Glass and Hackett (1970:103) describe constructions that they have labelled 'participial clauses'. These clauses appear to have many of the features I have identified for SVCs. These participial clauses occur very frequently in Ngaanyatjarra.

They share a common subject (and often a common object) with the independent clause with which they are contiguous ... They may be identified as participial clauses by the form of the predicate and by their occurrence immediately prior to (or following) another predicate manifested by a verb in another tense (1970:102).

The participle has two forms *-rra* and *-lpi*. The *-lpi* form is found on verbs preceding non-motion verbs. I have added these forms to the chart of serial verb inflections in Table 9.3. The following example (9.76) illustrates the 'participial clause' in Ngaanyatjarra.

⁴ Although this grammar has the title *Pitjantjatjara grammar* it is in fact a description of the Ngaanyatjarra language spoken at Warburton Ranges. At the time of writing 'Pitjantjatjarra' was used to cover a number of southern Western Desert languages.

Table 9.3: Serial Verb Inflections in the Western Desert

	Verb class			
Conjugation class	<i>-∅</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>-rra</i>	<i>-la</i>
Northern Western Desert				
Yulparija	no data			
Manyjilyjarra	<i>-ra</i>			
Wangkajunga	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-la</i>		<i>-ra</i>
Kukatja	<i>-rra</i>			
Pintupi				
Southern Western Desert				
Ngaanyatjarra	<i>-rra -lpi</i>	<i>-rra -lpi</i>	<i>-rra -lpi</i>	<i>-rra -lpi</i>
Pitjantjatjara	<i>-rra</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-la/rra</i>	<i>-rra</i>
Yankunytjatjara		<i>-la</i>		
Gugada	<i>arra</i>	<i>-rla</i>		

Ngaanyatjarra

- 9.76 *ka-latju malaku pitja-ngu nya-ngu Thomas-nga pitja-ngu*
 and-we.all.ex back came saw name came
ngarri-rra ya-nu school palya-lkitja- \emptyset
 having.lain went school to do
 And we came back (and) saw that Thomas had come. He having slept
 went to school. (Glass and Hackett 1970:103)
- 9.77 *ka-lu wati-lu ngurlu-rra wana-rnu*
 and.her man frightening followed
 And the man chased her. (Glass and Hackett 1970:105)

Valiquette (1993) mentions SVCs in his brief Kukatja grammar. He includes the following chart of the types of serial verbs found in Kukatja. I have not been able to find the same information for other northern Western Desert languages.

Table 9.4: Types of Serial Verbs found in Kukatja (from Valiquette 1993)

serial-tensed
serial-tenseless
tenseless-tensed
tenseless-tenseless

Some SVCs are semantically very similar across the Western Desert. The following examples compare the SVC with *wanala* ‘follow’ in Wangkajunga, Kukatja, Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara. Example 9.77 above has a Ngaanyatjarra example with *wanala* ‘follow’.

Wangkajunga

This example is repeated from 9.70.

- 9.78 *Ngaa-n-pa-janampa ngarri-ra wana-nin-pa warta.*
 DEM-PL-PA-3plDAT lie-SER follow-PRES-PA plants
 This lot lined up are their plants. [SWPM]

Kukatja

A very common construction consists of the second verb *wanala* ‘follow’ to give the meaning ‘continue doing it’ and *nyina* ‘be/remain’ to give the meaning ‘remain doing it’ (Valiquette 1993).

- 9.79 *pungku-la wana-rnu*
 hit-SER follow-PST
 ‘he went along hitting him’. (Valiquette 1993:458)

Pintupi

Serial verbs in Pintupi are more restricted in comparison to Wangkajunga and the southern Western Desert languages. The second verb of a verb phrase consisting of a serial verb plus finite verb can have one of four different stems *nyina* ‘always’, *wani* ‘around’, *wana* ‘follow’ and *ju* ‘put’. In this example Hansen and Hansen use the abbreviation CLAS for ‘classifying morpheme’.

- 9.80 *pintji wati ngara-ø-la wana-rnin-pa*
 fence across stand-CLAS-SER follow-PRES-PA
 The fence is standing across (there) in a straight line. (Hansen and Hansen 1978:149)

Pitjantjatjara

- 9.81 *Purnu jurta kunyu nyanga-ngurru junku-la wanala*
 tree many he.says this-ABL putting-SER following
 He says to plant the trees in a line from this point. (Eckert and Hudson 1988:224)

9.8.2 Locatives, *la* and *na* particles and serial verb inflections

In this section I compare subordinate clauses in the non-Western Desert languages which are marked with a *la* or *na* inflection. This is summarised in Table 9.5. below.

Jaru

Examples of verb and verbid or gerund can have similar structure to the Western Desert serial verbs except that the two clauses do not share subjects as the SVCs do. The gerund can occur independently and take nominal suffixes. The example below has the gerund or verbid marked by the locative case *-la*. In this example Tsunoda (1981:172) uses the abbreviation VBD for ‘verbid’.

- 9.82 *Ngumbirr-u mawun nyang-an yud-gu-la nyinang-u-la*⁵
 woman-ERG man see-PRES sitting-gu-LOC sit-VBD-LOC
 A woman sees a man sitting. (Tsunoda 1981:188)

Warlpiri

Simpson (2000:82) argues that there are participle verb constructions such as the Warlpiri example below from Hale (1982) that are turning into serial constructions. Hale noted that constructions of this type were very popular, especially when they shared arguments. He suggests that

the close succession of infinitive and finite verb, in that order and without intervening intonational break achieves an effect which is semantically more closely akin to co-ordination than to subordination (1982:303).

The *rla* form in example 9.83 is an allomorph of the Warlpiri Locative *-ngka*. These constructions consist of clauses with shared subjects.

- 9.83 *Kurdu-ngku karnari wajili-pi-nja-rla puuly-marda-rnu.*
 child-ERG lizard running-verb-PPL-SEQ preverb-hold-PST
 The child chased the reticulated dragon (lizard species) and caught it. (Hale 1982:303)

Walmajarri

Walmajarri has a clitic *-rla/-pala* ‘then’ to mark subordinate clauses. An epenthetic *pa* is inserted between the word and the *la* clitic when the host word ends in a consonant. The clitic can occur on any class of word and joins clauses with different subjects as well as clauses that share subjects (Eirlys Richards pers. comm. 2001). Clauses 1 and 2, in example 9.84, below share first person plural subjects cross-referenced by *-rlipa*. Clause 3, in example 9.85, has a third person singular subject *nyanti* and clause 4 has a first person plural subject cross-referenced by *-rlipa*. In these examples Hudson (1978:vii) has used the abbreviations NOMLSR for ‘nominaliser’ and CUST for ‘customary’.

- 9.84 1. *kumanta-warlany pa-rlipa yanung-u-rla yukal-any marnpa*
 morning-other PA-1plS go-NOMLSR-PST lie-CUST nearby
 2. *para-yan-any-pala pa-rlipa mana-nga karnanganyja-kura-rla*
 climb-go-CUST-then PA-1plS tree-LOC emu-POSS-LOC
 Another morning we go and lie in wait close by. Then we climb a tree
 where the emu [will go]. (Hudson 1978:96)
- 9.85 3. *pirri-yan-any nyanti-ø* 4. *lan-any-pa-la pa-rlipa-ø*
 into:sight-go-CUST 3sg-NOM pierce-CUST-then pa-1plS-3sgO
 It comes up, then we spear it. (Hudson 1978:96)

Nyangumarta

Nyangumarta has verbal complexes composed of two verbs that share subject arguments. In many cases the second verb of these structures is a motion verb. The first

⁵ The orthographies in examples 9.76 to 9.87 have been altered slightly to conform to the orthography used throughout the grammar.

verb of the complex is inflected with *-na -rna* or *-nanya* which Sharp (1998:xviii) identifies as a nominaliser (NM). The examples below are from Sharp (1998). She uses the abbreviations NFUT for ‘non-future’ and IPLEX.SUB for the first person exclusive subject (Sharp 1998:xviii).

- 9.86 *Yaka-rna wirri-rni*
 leave-NM put-FUT
 S/he left it there and abandoned it. (Sharp 1998:307)
- 9.87 *Nga-nanya kulpa-nya-yirni.*
 eat-NM return-NFUT-1PL.EX.SUB
 Eating, we returned. (Sharp 1998:307)

Table 9.5: The connective suffix *la* and serial verb forms in the Western Desert and four non-Western Desert neighbours

	Position	Suffix	Clauses
Warlpiri	verb+nom	LOC <i>-rla, ngka</i>	same Subject
Jaru	verb/gerund	LOC <i>-la</i>	SS and DS*
Walmajarri	any word class	LOC <i>-rla, pala</i>	SS and DS*
Nyangumarta	verb	<i>na, rna, nanya</i>	same Subject
Yulparija	no data		
Wangkajunga	verb	<i>la, ra,</i>	same Subject
Kukatja	verb	<i>la, rra, ra,</i>	same Subject
Manyjilyjarra	verb	<i>ra</i>	same Subject
Pintupi	verb	<i>la, rra, ra,</i>	same Subject
Ngaanyatjarra	verb	<i>la, rra, lpi</i>	same Subject
Pitjantjatjara	verb	<i>la, rra, ra</i>	same Subject
Yankunytjatjara		<i>la, rra, ra</i>	same Subject
Gugada	verb	<i>rla, la rra, ra,</i>	same Subject

*I have used SS for clauses with shared subjects and DS for clauses that do not share subjects.

NB: The allomorph *la* of the Locative suffix occurs on some word classes in the Western Desert (§4.8.1)

10 *Syntax*

Introduction

This chapter is a discussion about the way that Wangkajunga words form constituents, clauses and simple sentences. The discussion begins with an investigation of how nominals relate to each other as constituents of clauses. The discussion then turns to the relationships between predicators and their arguments. Simple clauses composed of the two main predicators in the language, nominals and verbs, are described. The focus of the last part of the chapter is on the functions of words that are optional constituents in simple main clauses.

Section 10.1 is an investigation of the nominal constituents. Section 10.2 describes the types of nominal-headed sentences found in the language. The copula verbs of Wangkajunga are discussed in §10.3 and a brief account of other verb-headed clauses is given in §10.4. In §10.5 I argue for the existence of the grammatical relations Subject and Object in the language. Section 10.6 describes the type of constituents that modify main clauses. These are Adjunct Datives, §10.6.2; manner nominals and active nominals, §10.6.3; sentence modifiers, §10.6.4; time modifiers, §10.6.5; spatial modifiers, §10.6.6; particles, §10.6.7 and clitics §10.6.10. In the final §10.7 I compare the nominal constituent marking in the Western Desert and four of the Western Desert's northern neighbours.

10.1 Nominal constituents

This section describes the way nominals relate to form constituents in the language. Two and sometimes three identically case marked nominals can form nominal constituents in the language. However they occur infrequently. It is difficult to find consistent ordering for nominals referring to a single argument. The bound pronouns typically occur after the first word of the clause so that this sentence second position can only sometimes be used for a test for constituency. I firstly describe the position of the pronominal clitic cluster and the numbers of words that can occur before it. This leads to part two of this section that is an investigation and description of adjacent nominal constituents in Wangkajunga. Part three describes nominal constituents that typically contain a head noun and its modifier. Part four discusses nominal constituents that are non-head modifying, for example, co-ordinating structures and inclusive constructions.

There are a number of features of the language that add to the difficulty of identifying nominal constituents in the language. In general discourse overt nominal arguments are used to introduce participants and are then replaced by bound pronominals. This results in a majority of clauses being without overt nominals (§12.1). When nominal arguments are

used they are commonly composed of a single nominal. Discontinuous constituents are common (§10.1.3).

In this discussion I have identified nominals that refer to the same argument and have the following features:

- i. they have the same case marking
- ii. they occur before the bound pronoun

OR

- iii. they occur contiguously in a clause without a pause and have a single intonation pattern.

I then examine the order of the elements within these proposed constituents.

An alternative assessment of noun phrases has been proposed by McGregor for Gooniyandi, an Australian language of the Kimberley region (McGregor 1990:253). The relevance of McGregor's proposal for Wangkajunga is considered towards the end of this section.

10.1.1 The position of the pronominal clitic cluster

The compulsory bound pronoun clitic cluster discussed in Chapter 6 commonly occurs after the first word or the first constituent of the clause. In 166 clauses from a total of 186 chosen randomly from four different texts the bound pronouns occurred after the first word of the clause. In the other 20 clauses the pronoun clitic cluster occurred after the combinations discussed in §10.1.1.1 and in a very small number of clauses after a single constituent. The discourse style of the texts varies as two are narratives about the traditional life in the desert, another is a recount of a recent journey, and another is a spontaneous description of a drawing.

In this discussion nominal constituents or noun phrases are the combinations of words that are described above under i, ii and iii. The predominant combination is illustrated by examples 10.1 and 10.2 below. These nominals have identical case marking, are united by a level intonation and are spoken without a pause between them. They illustrate a nominal constituent in Wangkajunga.

10.1 *Jii-n-pa mirrka laltu-laju ngala-ngu.*
 DEM-PL-PA plant.food lots-3plexS eat-PST
 That's the vegetable food we ate. [BRNS]

10.2 *Laltu-ø kuka-ø-laju ngalkun-ma.*
 many-ABS game-ABS-1plexS eat-PSTHB
 We used to eat lots of food. [DHN]

10.1.1.1 Combinations that occur before the clitic but are not nominal constituents

However, other combinations of word classes can occur before the clitics. These are illustrated below.

After Kriol ‘an’, English ‘wal’

One speaker makes frequent use of the Kriol *an* which I have labelled ‘conjunction’, and the English ‘well’. These and other particles and sentence modifiers that have scope over the clause always occur sentence initially (§10.6.6). They are typically followed by a slight pause. This is indicated in the examples by a comma. They have the same distribution as the Wangkajunga clause joining conjunction *ka*. These conjunctions occur before the clitic and with another nominal. These forms are illustrated in example 10.3, and 10.4.

- 10.3 *An, mirrka-laju yanga ngalkun-ma, jirilypaja.*
 CONJ plant.food-1plexS DEM eat-PSTHB edible.root
 And we used to eat vegetables, that ‘jirilypaja’. [BRNS]
- 10.4 *Wal, maitbi-janampa jiriki jii palunya-ti-ku.*
 Well(E), maybe(E)-3plDAT bird DEM DEM-PL-DAT
 Well, perhaps that bird is theirs. [SWPN1]

After Wangkajunga ‘ka’

I discuss the conjunction *-ka* in §11.2.

- 10.5 *ka-laju kantu-la jina-lu*
 CONJ-1plexS stamp-NARPST foot-ERG
 And we would stamp on it with our feet.
- 10.6 *ka jawa-rnu pu-ngu-ya*
 CONJ dig-PST hit-PST
 And they dug it up and killed it. [KNG]

After a verb

The pronominal clitic cluster can sometimes occur after a verb. This is also noted in McConvell in his discussion of ‘split-wackernagel’ clitic systems (1996:325). In this example from 4.91 the third person singular Dative bound pronoun is attached to the verb. The proper name nominal which has Ergative case *Glynju* and the verb *japinin* ‘asking’ both occur before the bound pronoun. This is not an example from a text and may reflect English word order. In example 10.8, the first person plural exclusive Subject bound pronoun occurs after the verb *yarra* ‘would go’.

- 10.7 *Glyn-ju japi-nin-pa-ra kartiya.*
 name-ERG ask-PRES-PA-3sgDAT European
 Glyn is asking the white man for it. [NBK2]
- 10.8 *An palunyajanu ya-rra-laju*
 SENTMOD after.that go-NARPST-1plexS
 And after that, we’d go [DHN]

After a particle

The bound pronoun also occurs after particles that do not take any nominal suffixes. The particle in this example *wituka* ‘also’ always occurs word initially. The negative particle is discussed in §12.3. Other particles are discussed in §10.6.

- 10.9 *Wituka-lampaju-ya wani-nun palunya-rti-lu.*
 also-1plexDAT-3plS cut-PST DEM-PL-ERG
 And they are the ones that cut it out for us as well. [FLBD]

After Kriol or Pidgin noun phrases

The texts also have examples of bound pronouns following Kriol or Pidgin (§1.5) noun phrases. In example 10.10 the first person plural exclusive bound pronoun *-laju* follows the Pidgin noun phrase ‘only two toyota’.

- 10.10 *Only two toyota-laju ya-nu, kujarra-kurlu*
 only two 4WDvehicle-1plexS go-PST two-HAV
 We only had two four wheel drives, just the two. [KNG]

10.1.2 Nominal constituents consisting of a head nominal and its modifier

The head nominal is the main element of the phrase, the entity, which has the same distribution as the whole constituent. Pauses between words and consequently between constituents are indicated by a comma.

10.1.2.1 Noun and attribute

Nominal constituents consisting of a nominal and an attribute are not common in the texts. The nominals grouped as head and attribute before the bound pronouns and as head and attribute occurring contiguously in the same clause were counted in three texts of four pages each. There were seven examples of these types of constituents. In the small number of examples attested the attribute nominals following the head outnumber the attributes preceding the head. Example 10.11 illustrates the order of attribute following the head. In this the speaker is trying to find a way to describe a black-headed snake the common name of which is taboo. She switches languages, from Walmajarri to Wangkajunga. In each case the order of attribute following head remains the same.

- 10.11 *kurnkurn punurl kurnkurn mulya kurnkurn maru*
 black(WAL) nose(WAL) black nose black black
mulya maru maru
 nose black black
 the black one, the black nosed one, the black nose, it’s black, black nosed, black
 [KNG]
- 10.12 *Winkuma, kuka palya*
 possum meat good
 Possum is good meat. [DHN]
- 10.13 *Ngaa murtilya juku-juku.*
 DEM boy small-RDP
 This is a little boy. [SWPN]

The next examples illustrate the order of the attribute preceding the head. In each of these examples it is the attribute that is important in the discourse. The size of the animals caught by eagles, the brevity of the story and the neatness of the cut of the dress are important. It is possible that these examples indicate a tendency for the importance of the attribute to influence the ordering. There is another explanation for the ordering of the third

example. The speaker may be using Kriol word order in a clause containing both Kriol and Wangkajunga words.

- 10.14 *Jarlu-jarlu kuka waka-ra nga-lku-la nyina-payi.*
 large-RDP game spears-SER eat-IRR-SER sit-CHAR
 [The eagle] snatches and eats very big animals. [SWPN]
- 10.15 *yeah, yiya-lku juwal-pa wangka,*
 yes send-FUT short-PA story
 Yeah, she'll send a short story, [KNG]
- 10.16 *razor-kurlu-lu, razor, sometime we using makim prapa*
 razor-HAV-ERG razor make(K) really(K)
palya-minyirri turriti.
 good-VERY dress.
 Sometimes we used a razor, to make a very good dress. [FLBD]

A case marked nominal can also perform the function of attribute as in the four following examples. These examples also indicate alternative orderings.

puluman jal-kurlu
 bullock salt-HAV
 'salted beef'

partiri-kurlu warta
 flower-HAV tree
 'tree with flowers'

puluman-janu jira
 beef-ABL fat
 'beef fat'

lungkun-janu lukurti
 wattle.tree-ABL grub
 'wattle tree grub'

10.1.2.2 Attribute only

An attributive nominal can occur alone in a clause. Nominals denoting attributes can occur as sole representatives of an argument in most languages of the area (Goddard 1985; Hudson 1978; Sharp 1998; Simpson 1991). There is little difference between an account which treats these nominals as modifiers with elided heads and one which treats them as heads.

These modifier only nominals occur where the thing being modified is obvious from the context. Example 10.17 is from the text titled 'Trip to Kaningara' in the Appendix. In the two previous clauses the speaker has identified the entity, a bustard or bush turkey, which they saw standing on the road. In this example the speaker gives more information about the size of the bustard. In example 10.18 the speaker is describing the actions of figures in simple illustrations. In this example the entity being modified is obvious from the drawing.

- 10.17 *Ngara-ma jarlu-paka, jarlu-minyirri.*
 stand-PSTIMP big-BIG big-VERY
 A big [one], a really big [one] was standing [there]. [KNG]

- 10.18 *Kujupa ngarr-in-pa yalta mimi-kurlu.*
 another lie-PRES-PA cold sick-HAV
 Another [one] is cold from sickness. [SWPN1]

Example 10.19 was an unacceptable sentence without any context.

- 10.19 **Jarlu ya-nin-pa*
 big go-PRES-PA
 A big [one] is coming. [NBK3:35]

However, the following expression was acceptable when we were travelling together in a car and she saw another car approaching. It is possible that *kujupa* is different from other attribute nominals. It may be more like a pronoun derived from its origin as a numeral.

- 10.20 *Kujupa yan-in-pa.*
 another go-PRES-PA
 Another [one] is coming. [NBK3:38]

10.1.2.3 Nominal and quantifier

Quantifier nominals also occur in different orders relative to the nominal they qualify. The preferred position for a quantifier nominal is after the entity it modifies although it also occurs before the entity. Goddard (1985:47) mentions that in Yankunytjatjara

the quantifying adjective *tjuta* ‘many’ is the normal way of indicating plurality and must be included in any NP whose referent consists of, or more accurately, is seen to consist of, more than two or three individuals. (NP = noun phrase)

In this respect Wangkajunga is not like Yankunytjatjara. A nominal can occur as a single word argument yet still refer to a plural referent. The cross-referencing pronominal clitics can be the only signals of plurality (§4.2.4.) Example 10.21 lacks a quantifier nominal and plurality is signalled by the third person plural clitic *-ya*.

- 10.21 *Ngaa-ya jiji-wiyaju nyi-nin-pa yurlta-ngka.*
 DEM-3plS child-only stay-PRES in.camp-LOC
 In this one only the children are at home. [SWPN]

Examples 10.22 and 10.23 both have a quantifier and head nominal occurring before the first person plural exclusive bound pronoun. In example 10.22 the quantifier *laltu* ‘many’ occurs after the head nominal *mirrka* ‘plant food’. In example 10.23 the same quantifier occurs before the head nominal *kuka* ‘meat food’. My knowledge of the language is not detailed enough to explain the subtle meaning difference between the two orders.

- 10.22 *mirrka laltu-laju ngalkun-ma*
 plant.food many-1plexS eat-PSTIMP
 We used to eat lots of plant food. [BRNS]
- 10.23 *laltu kuka-laju ngalkun-ma.*
 many meat.food-1plexS eat-PSTIMP
 We used to eat lots of meat foods. [BRNS]

In example 10.24 the speaker uses English word order for the borrowed English word and then changes the order for the Wangkajunga words *yirna kujarra* ‘two men’ and *parntanypa kuju* ‘one woman’. In example 10.25 the quantifiers occur before the entity nominal. This example also has an attributive nominal *maru-maru* ‘black’ that occurs after

the head nominal *kata* ‘head’. In this example the speaker is itemising the types and numbers of game caught for the family.

- 10.24 *Jii-n-pa na-laju ya-nu, three kartiya, yirna-kujarra-pula*
 DEM-PL-PA FOC(K)-1plexS go-PST three European man-DUAL-3dIS
an parntany-pa kuju.
 CONJ woman-PA one
 We’re the ones who went, three Europeans, two men and one woman. [KNG]
- 10.25 *Kuka-janampa-pula pu-ngu kujarra, kujarra parnaparnti, kuju kanaji,*
 game-3plDAT-3dIS hit-PST two two goanna one snake
kata maru-maru, kata kurn-kurn.
 head black-RDP head black-RDP
 [The parents] have killed two types of game for them, two goannas and one snake, a black head, black-headed snake. [SWPN]

The quantifier *kujarra* ‘two’ is both a free form quantifier and a derivational suffix meaning ‘dual’. In example 10.26, *-kujarra* has the form of a derivational suffix because it occurs after the demonstrative *ngaa* ‘this’ but before the Ergative suffix *-lu*. As a derivational suffix *-kujarra* is the dual form on demonstratives and pronouns and is attached to the nominal (§5.1 and §5.2).

- 10.26 *Ngaa-kujarra-lu-jananya-pula nyupa-rarra-lu ju-nu ya-nu.*
 DEM-DUAL-ERG-3plO-3dIS spouse-PAIR-ERG put-PST go-PST
 These two, the parents, left them. [SWPM]

10.1.2.4 Intensifiers

The intensifier *minyirri* is normally a suffix and is discussed in §4.2.3.7. This is illustrated by 10.16, 10.17 above and example 10.27.

- 10.27 *Minarli juku-minyirri,*
 boy small-VERY
 A very small boy, [SWPN]

In the neighbouring languages Walmajarri (Richards and Hudson 1990:378) and Manyjilyjarra (Marsh 1992) the intensifier is also a derivational suffix. Most examples indicate that it is also a derivational suffix in Wangkajunga. In example 10.28 *-minyirri* is a derivational suffix occurring before the locative case inflection *-ngka*. Example 10.29 is from another speaker and the intensifier has independent word stress and is without agreement of the locative case. This is discussed in §4.2.3.7.

- 10.28 *Parnaparnti kartal-ja jarlu-minyirri-ngka jarrpa-ngu.*
 goanna hole-LOC big-VERY-LOC enter-PST
 The goanna went into a really big hole. [NBK3:35]
- 10.29 *Ma-nu-pula takurlju-nu piti-ngka jarlu-ngka minyirri.*
 get-PST-3dIS put.into-PST wooden.dish-LOC large-LOC very
 The parents got it and put it into a very big carrying dish. [SWPM]

10.1.2.5 Demonstratives

I examined 45 examples of groups of nominals consisting of a demonstrative and another head nominal. In the 45 examples the demonstrative occurred first 26 times and second 19 times. (Section 5.2 has a discussion of the semantics and case marking of Wangkajunga demonstratives.) Constituents of a common nominal and demonstrative occurring before the bound pronoun are infrequent in the texts. In the two recorded examples, 10.30 and also 10.87 below, the demonstrative occurs post head. This is the strongest evidence for a preferred position for demonstratives. Examples 10.30 and 10.31 are illustrations of this order. Both these examples show that it isn't the *-nga* focus marking that influences the order of the demonstrative and head nominal. In 10.32 the demonstrative *jii* 'that' also follows the head nominal, *winkuma* 'possum'.

- 10.30 *Kuka-nga jii-nga-laju bushman-nga punga-ma*
 game-FOC jii-FOC-1plexS traditional-FOC hit-PSTIMP
 That's the food, the traditional food we used to hunt. [DHN]
- 10.31 *Yirna-lu-nga-lampaju waka-la kuka-nga jii-nga.*
 man-ERG-FOC-1plDAT spear-NARPST meat-FOC DEM-FOC
 Our father speared that meat for us. [DHN1]
- 10.32 *Kuka-ya winkuma jii yirrijuna-ma kunyarr-kurlu-lu*
 game-3plS possum DEM chase.after-PSTIMP dog(WAL)-HAV-ERG
wirta-kurlu-lu.
 dog-HAV-ERG
 They used to chase after game, that possum, with dogs. [BRNS]

Other writers, (Bowe 1990; Goddard 1985; Eckert and Hudson 1988) have suggested that the pre-head position for demonstratives in Western Desert languages could signal a meaning difference such as that of restrictive and non-restrictive. I have not yet been able to find this distinction in Wangkajunga. As Wangkajunga nominal constituents differ from the southern Western Desert languages in that each nominal constituent is marked identically for case the constituent order appears to be more free than in Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara. Joyce Hudson and Eirlys Richards (pers. comm. 1994) have not encountered the restrictive, non-restrictive distinction in Walmajarri noun phrases containing demonstratives. Walmajarri noun phrases are similar to Wangkajunga nominal constituents in that each constituent is marked by a case suffix (Hudson 1978:18). The restrictive non-restrictive distinction is clearer in discontinuous constituents illustrated in example 10.33 and 10.35 below. Discontinuous constituents are discussed in §10.1.3.

- 10.33 *Jii-n-pa, mirrka laltu-laju ngala-ngu.*
 DEM-PL-PA plant.food many-1plexS eat-PST
 We ate those, lots of plant foods. [BRNS]

10.1.2.6 Generic and specific nominals

Another set of modifying nominals in Wangkajunga are those in a generic specific construction where a specific noun delineates the reference of a generic noun (§4.1.1). Goddard (1985) says that there are at least twelve generic nouns for Yankunytjatjara. The construction is not widespread in Wangkajunga texts. My examples include plant food, meat food, trees and plants, people and land. The specific noun is found both preceding – 10.34, and following – 10.35, the generic noun.

- 10.34 *Ngaa-n-pa-janampa ngarri-rra wana-nin Warrangkarli mayi.*
 DEM-PL-PA-3plDAT lie-SER accompany-PRES plant.name plant.food
 These lined up [along the bottom of an illustration] are ‘warrangkarli’ fruits for them. [SWPMi]
- 10.35 *Jipari-rni yunga-ma, warta jipari*
 plant-1sgO give-PSTIMP tree type
 She used to give me *jipari*, the plant *jipari*. [BRNS]

10.1.2.7 Part whole nominals

Another small group of nominal constituents contain a nominal and a reference to one of its parts. These consist of two nominals one of which adds information about the other. The relationship between the two nominals is one of modification but is non-attributive. The two nominals are juxtaposed in the same way as the inalienable possession constituents discussed in §10.1.2.8. These are the type of nominals that describe the branch of a tree, the nose of a digging stick, or the crack in a rock. A comprehensive account of part-whole nominals and inalienable possession in Australian languages is given in Chappell and McGregor (1996).

Examples 10.36 and 10.37 illustrate part-whole nominal constituents in Wangkajunga. Example 10.37 shows that three nominals, each marked identically for case, can form a single constituent. The preferred order for these nominals is for the part to follow the whole. Example 10.37 also shows the preferred order of demonstrative following the head.

- 10.36 *Wana-rnu-rna parnaparnti jina tali-wana.*
 follow-PST-1sgS goanna footprint sandhill-PERL
 I followed the goanna’s footprint along the sandhill. [CLTLS]
- 10.37 *Warta-ngka pirrpilya-ngka jii-ngka-pula turru kujarra nyin-in-pa.*
 tree-LOC branch-LOC DEM-LOC-3dIS bird two sit-PRES-PA.
 Two birds are sitting on a branch of that tree. [NBK3:25]

10.1.2.8 Inalienable possession

A similar construction to the one describing part-whole nominals is used for inalienable possession. This is the type of possession which involves a possessed entity such as a body part that cannot be removed from the possessor. Wangkajunga is like many Australian languages in that it does not include the genitive suffix in constructions involving people and animals and parts of their bodies. The two nominals for possessed and possessor are not always juxtaposed. In example 10.38 both are marked with zero for the Absolutive case.

- 10.38 *Parnaparnti-lu tuju mara paja-rnu.*
 goanna-ERG woman hand bite-PST
 The goanna bit the woman’s hand. [NBK3:24]

The most common examples of ‘inalienable’ possession are those that involve a pronoun plus a body part. In example 10.39 the pronoun has the locative case marker *-la* and the body part is marked for Absolutive case.

- 10.39 *Ngayu-la-rni-ya murti pawurnu.*
 1sg-LOC-1sgO-3plS knee cook-PST
 They burnt me on the knee. [BRNS]

The two nominals denoting inalienable possession can be discontinuous constructions separated by the bound pronouns, example 10.39 and 10.40, or a word, 10.41. These two examples also show that either order of the possessor and possessed is acceptable.

- 10.40 *Tuju parnaparnti-lu mara paja-rnu.*
 woman goanna-ERG hand bite-PST
 The goanna bit the woman on her hand. [NBK3:53]
- 10.41 *Mara-ya-pulanya tuju pinga-lu paja-rnu kujarra-ngulyu.*
 hand-3plS-3dIO woman ant-ERG bite-PST two-CERT
 The ants bit the hands of the women, of two of the women. [NBK3:53]

Goddard (1985:52) says that in Yankunytjatjara this type of construction only applies to people and their body parts and that animals and their body parts are described by means of what he describes as ‘noun compounds’. The difference between the two types of constituents is that inalienable possessors can be separated from the thing they possess by a word or bound pronoun whereas ‘noun compounds’ cannot be separated. This does not seem to be the same for Wangkajunga where animal and person body parts are treated similarly. This is shown by the two examples 10.42 and 10.43. Example 10.42 is an example of inalienable possession by a dog of his foot. Example 10.43 is also an example of inalienable possession by two dogs of their feet but in this example dog *wirta* and foot *jina* are separated by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* and the third person dual Object bound pronoun *-pulanya*.

Examples 10.41 above and 10.43 are ambiguous. Example 10.44 shows that possessed entities are cross-referenced by Dative bound pronouns. Inalienable possessions and part-whole relationships are not cross-referenced. In these examples the bound pronouns could be cross-referencing the possessor or the thing possessed. In 10.43 the third person dual bound pronoun *-pulanya* could be cross-referencing the two dogs or the dog’s two feet.

- 10.42 *Kanaji-lu wirta jina paja-rnu.*
 snake-ERG dog foot bite-PST
 The snake bit the dog’s foot. [NBK3:24]
- 10.43 *Jina-ya-pulanya wirta pinga-lu paja-rnu kujarra-ngulyu.*
 foot-3plS-3dIO dog ant-ERG bite-PST two-CERT
 The ants bit the dog’s feet, the two of them. [NBK3:53]
- 10.44 *Nyupa-rarra-ku-pula-janampa jiji kujarra, kujarra*
 spouse-PAIR-DAT-3dIS-3plDAT child two two
 The two kids have these parents. [SWPN]

10.1.2.9 Free pronouns

Free pronouns are used infrequently in Wangkajunga as their use is pragmatically determined by situations where emphasis or clarification is required (§5.1). The bound pronouns normally signal the number and person of participants in an event (§6.2). The preferred position for free pronouns is at the beginning of the clause (§12.1.4.7). This is illustrated by example 10.45.

- 10.45 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma*
 1- PL-PA-1plexS in.camp sit-PSTHB
 We used to stay around the camp. [DHN1]

10.1.3 Nonhead modifying nominal constituents

10.1.3.1 Conjoined nominals

Wangkajunga clauses, can, among other items, potentially contain any number of juxtaposed nominals. Although the potential is for any number of nominals the more likely occurrence is two or three. The nominals that are juxtaposed can be of the same type, example 10.46, but need not be, example 10.1. I have not recorded any examples of two intensifiers juxtaposed. In the first example the two nominals occur before the bound pronoun cluster consisting of first person plural Object and third person plural Subject *-lanyajuya*. The two nominals *yipilu* ‘mother’ and *mamalu* ‘father’ are pronounced without a pause between them. In this first example the two nominals are simply juxtaposed without morphological conjunctions.

- 10.46 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka pu-ngku-la yunga-ma.*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plO-3plS meat kill-IRR-SER give-PSTIMP
 The mother and fathers were killing meat for us. [DHN1]

10.1.3.2 Conjoined nominals with *kamu*

Another type of conjoined non-head modifying constituent contains the conjunction *kamu*. This conjunction joins nominals within the same constituent (§11.2).

- 10.47 *Tilpu kamu yirna-pula nyarra-yi yan-in-pa kuka-kurlu.*
 mother CONJ father-3dlS DEM-VOC go-PRES-PA meat-HAV
 There’s mum and dad coming with the food. [DHN1]

Constituents such as *tilpu kamu yirna-pula* may have become formalised in particular types of texts so that the preference is not to separate them. This example was altered by my consultant so that the pronominal clitic third person dual *-pula* followed the complete phrase *mama kamu yipi-pula*.

- 10.48 **Mama-pula yipi kamu wartil-pa ya-nu.*
 father-3dlS mother CONJ hunting-PA go-PST
 The mother and father have gone hunting. [NBK3:35]

However there are examples in the texts of phrases joined by *kamu* but separated by the clitic cluster.

- 10.49 *an kilu kamu-pula an minyuparnta*
 CONJ mouse CONJ-3dlS CONJ small possum
 and mice and little possums, [DHN]

There are also examples of these conjoined nominals occurring before the pronominal clitic cluster but with slight pauses between them. In the next example the speaker is continuing a list of the food items and she pauses between the first and second item.

- 10.50 *An kaanu kamu ngiyari kamu-laju punga-ma.*
 and small.lizards CONJ mountain.devil CONJ-1plexS hit-PSTHB
 And we used to kill little lizards and mountains devils, [DHN]

10.1.3.3 Proper names

The texts have examples of nominal constituents consisting of Wangkajunga proper names and also English proper names. These are either juxtaposed or joined by *kamu*. In example 10.51 the Subject is a proper name with the derivational suffix *ngurun* ‘group’

(§4.2.5.1). In an afterthought (§12.1.5) the speaker itemises the names of the people included in the group. In the itemising of these names the speaker has combined the names under a single intonation. This is in contrast to the listing intonation used for lists of names that has a pause between each name (§2.6.2). The two English proper names in example 10.52 occur before the third person dual bound pronoun and are united by the conjunction *kamu*.

- 10.51 *Kurrapa-ngurun-pa-laju ya-nu, Kurrapa Jukuna Ngarta an Wajinya.*
 name-GRP-PA-1plexS go-PST name name name CONJ name
 Kurrapa's group went, Kurrapa, Jukuna, Ngarta and Wajinya. [KNG]
- 10.52 *Jepeth kamu Junior-pula kalyu-ngka tupurlnga-rr-in-pa*
 name CONJ name-3dIS water-LOC swim-INCH-PRES-PA
 Jepeth and Junior are swimming in the water. [NBK2:27]

10.1.3.4 Repetitive expressions

A small number of common sayings and repetitions have similar distribution to and share the features of the nominal constituents that occur before bound pronouns. These are illustrated by examples 10.53, 10.54 and 10.55. Each of them consists of a nominal plus a derivational suffix that is reduplicated. The derivational suffix denotes number in example 10.53 and what I have labelled as comparison of property in examples 10.54 and 10.55.

- 10.53 *Kutu-kujarra kutu-kujarra-ya ngarr-in wungku-ngka.*
 middle-DUAL middle-DUAL-3plS lie-PRES windbreak-LOC
 They are lying two by two [by their fires] in the windbreak. [SWPN]
- 10.54 *Kuka-partu kuka-partu-lanyaju-ya jarlu laltu yirrayiyunga-ma,*
 game-TYPE game-TYPE-1plexO-3plS big many gather-PSTIMP
nyukurni-nguninji.
 before-FOC
 It was in the old days that they collected all sorts of different large animals
 for us. [BRNS]
- 10.55 *Kalyu-kujupa kalyu-kujupa-laju yana-ma*
 waterhole-ANOTH waterhole-ANOTH-1plexS go-PSTHB
 We used to go from one waterhole to another. [DHN]

10.1.3.5 Disjunction

Disjunctions containing alternatives similar to the English 'or' are not common within Wangkajunga nominal constituents. There are examples of constituents consisting of a common nominal with the Kriol borrowing *maitbi* 'could be'. These consist of two juxtaposed constituents each consisting of *maitbi* and a common nominal and separated by a pause. The context of these expressions and the slight rise in intonation on the last nominal suggest that the two alternatives of the disjunction are not the only possibilities. They appear to express 'open' rather than 'closed' disjunction' (Dixon 1972:363). In example 10.56 it could be a brother or sister or it could be any other relative.

- 10.56 *Maitbi-janampa papartu maitbi jurtu*
 maitbi-3plDAT brother maitbi sister
 It could be their brother or their sister or ? [SWPMi]

10.1.3.6 Genitive nominal constituents

The genitive construction in Wangkajunga consists of the possessor nominal marked by the suffix *-kurnu* and the possessed nominal. The preferred order for nominals in the genitive structure is for possessed to follow possessor.

- 10.57 *Ngaa ngurra pinga-kurnu kartal-ja.*
 DEM home ant-POSS hole-LOC
 This home is in an ants' hole. [CLTLS]
- 10.58 *Ya-nku-rna nya-ku ngayu-kurnu yipi.*
 go-FUT-1sgS see-FUT 1sg-POSS mother
 I would like to go and visit my mother. [NBK3:37]

Another suffix *-kura* is used in the same way as *-kurnu* (§4.5).

- 10.59 *Charlene, Jukuna-kura ngawiji.*
 name name-POSS son's.daughter
 Charlene, Jukuna's grandchild. [KNG]

The use of this suffix *-kura* is not limited to relationship terms. This is indicated by example 10.60.

- 10.60 *Trailer, ngapi-kura, Michael-ku*
 trailer HES-POSS name-DAT
 Uhh, Michael's trailer. [KNG]

The possessed nominal can be further modified. The verb *yungkarnu* in example 10.61 refers to the act of hitting with a missile or other type of instrument.

- 10.61 *Yungka-rnu-rni ngayu-kurnu-lu papartu-lu kawan-kawan-ju mani-nguru.*
 hit-PST-1sgO 1sg-POSS-ERG brother-ERG mad-ERG money-ABL
 My mad brother hit me because of money. [FAX]

Example 10.62 shows that even though the possessor occurs before the possessed in most cases, alternative orders are acceptable. This order may have been influenced by the presence of the demonstrative *jii* occurring before *mama* 'father'.

- 10.62 *An jii mama ngayu-kurnu, malaku ya-nu Kurtal-kurra,*
 CONJ DEM father 1sg-POSS return go-PST waterhole.name-ALL
ngayu-kurnu mama, Lawalawa.
 1sg-POSS father name
 And that father of mine, he went back to Kurtal, my father Lawalawa. [DS]

10.1.3.7 Inclusive constructions

This constituent consists of one or more names or non-first person pronouns, followed by a non-singular pronoun, or other word that is inclusive of the first entities. All agree in case. In example 10.63 the constituent *nyupararralu* 'the parents', includes the meaning of the nominals *mamalu yipilu* 'the mother and father' and all three nominals have Ergative case.

- 10.63 *Mama-lu yipi-lu nyupa-rarra-lu-pula kuka pu-ngu.*
 father-ERG mother-ERG spouse-PAIR-ERG-3dIS meat hit-PST
 The mother and father hunted game. [NBK3:37]

10.1.3.8 Hesitations

The hesitation words (§5.5) *ngapi* or *nganayi* can occur contiguously and in a single intonation pattern with another nominal. The order of these nominals is regular as the speaker uses the ‘whatsaname’ word first and the searched for word second. The ‘whatsaname’ word and the searched for nominal have identical case marking. This is shown in example 10.64.

Although two ‘whatsaname’ words often occur contiguously and can occur before the bound pronouns they commonly have a pause between them. In example 10.65 the two ‘whatsaname’ words *ngapi* and *nganayi* occur before the second person plural bound pronoun *-nyurra*. The speaker appears to be choosing the most appropriate form.

10.64 *wituka karrpi-la ngapi-kurlu-lu yakapuri-kurlu-lu*
 also tie-NARPST HES-HAV-ERG plant-HAV-ERG
 also, she would tie it up with, um, yakapuri. [BRNS]

10.65 *Ngapi nganayi-nyurra waja-nin marrany-pa-nyu.*
 HES HES-2plS say-PRES dingo-PA-REP
 Um, um you all say ‘*marrany*’, they reckon. [BRNS]

10.1.3.9 Discontinuous nominal constituents

Like many Australian languages Wangkajunga has clauses in which two nominals referring to the same argument and similarly marked for case are separated by a single word, the pronominal clitic cluster or by more than one word. I have not considered these a single constituent. These are clearly separate groups in the following examples. In example 10.66 the word *kuka* has a rising intonation suggesting the translation I have provided. The rising intonations on the two words for snake in example 10.67 suggest that the speaker is correcting the word she has used for snake. The modifier *kalirrikalirri* ‘patterned’ also has a rising intonation suggesting the pauses and the added clarification.

10.66 *Mingajurru-rna kulyakanyin-ma, kuka.*
 bandicoot-1sgS wait-PSTIMP game
 I was waiting for bandicoot, the meat. [BRNS]

10.67 *Palunya-janu-ya kanaji, kuniya pu-wa, kalirri-kalirri.*
 DEM-ABL-3plS snake, snake hit-NARPST patterned-RDP
 After that, they would hunt snake, snake, those really pretty ones. [DHM]

Although changes in intonation are often an indication of constituent membership, there are examples of single intonation patterns which do not necessarily mean that the constituents belong to a single constituent. In examples 10.68, 10.69 and 10.70 the underlined words are pronounced without a significant change in intonation or without a noticeable pause between them. In the first example 10.68, only one nominal, *kartiya* ‘European’ is marked by the Ergative although both *kujarra* and *kartiya* refer to the same argument.

10.68 *Kujarra-lanyaju-pula kartiya-tu kati-ngu,*
 two-1plexO-3dlS European-ERG take-PST
 Two took us, Europeans. [KNG]

10.69 *Ngayu-kurnu ya-nu tilpu, wurna kuka-kutu*
 1sg-POSS go-PST mother away game-ALL
 My mother went off for game. [BRNS]

- 10.70 *Laltu-janampa-pula kuka pu-ngu minyawu kamu, minyawu,*
 plenty-3plDAT-3dIS meat hit-PST cat and cat
ngapi, parnaparnti
 HES goanna
 The two of them would kill lots of animals for food for us, cats, and cats,
 uh, goannas, [SWPM]

10.1.4 Ordered set of functions

McGregor (1990:253) has proposed an alternative for the analysis of noun phrases in Australian languages. McGregor suggests that Gooniyandi has a noun phrase (NP) that is a string of words of various parts of speech that show scant ordering preferences. McGregor believes that a much more satisfactory and enlightening description is possible by taking into account the function of the immediate constituents within the phrase. McGregor describes an NP as

a sequence of one or more constituents, with associated functions as shown in [this] formula

$(\text{DEICTIC})^{\wedge}(\text{QUANTIFIER})^{\wedge}(\text{CLASSIFIER})^{\wedge}\text{ENTITY}^{\wedge}(\text{QUALIFIER})$

where \wedge indicates strict linear ordering, and brackets enclose optional functions: functions that need not be realised in an NP. (McGregor 1990:253)

Other writers have used this formula to describe noun phrases in an Australian language. Dench (1995) described noun phrases in the Pilbara language Martuthunira in this way. Sharp (1998) also used it to describe the noun phrases of Nyangumarta, which is a close traditional neighbour of Wangkajunga.

The use of this description for Wangkajunga needs further investigation. The examples in §10.1.2.1 show that McGregor's strict ordering will not work for this language. It is possible that the ordering of nominals within phrases is not random but an indication of subtle difference in meaning. It is difficult to work out the semantic reasons underlying the change of word order.

These subtle differences are not always obvious to non-native speakers and the problem with McGregor's formula is that there is no structural evidence to confirm the analysis. To illustrate these subtleties of meaning in Wangkajunga I set out the following examples from similar contexts within texts. The context is very similar in 10.71, 10.72 and 10.73 that are the introductory clauses from three different very short texts about paintings of the speakers' homeland. The speakers are pointing to features illustrated in their paintings. The alternative translation is incorrect in example 10.72.

- 10.71 *Ngaa mangarri pulurntarri*
 DEM food plant.food
 This plant is *pulurntarri*. [DS]
- 10.72 *yinta ngaa Kiriwirri*
 waterhole DEM waterhole.name
 This waterhole is Kirriwiri. [PNTGS]
 * This Kiriwirri is a waterhole.
- 10.73 *Kalyu ngaa wala.*
 water DEM lake
 This water is a lake. [PNTGS]

Examples 10.74 and 10.75 are from texts about the traditional life in the desert. Both the examples follow listings of animal foods.

- 10.74 *Laltu kuka-laju nga-lkun-ma.*
 many game-1plexS eat-FUT-PSTIMP
 We used to eat lots of game. [BRNS]
- 10.75 *Kuka laltu-laju nga-lkun-ma.*
 game many-1plexS eat-FUT-PSTIMP
 We were eating lots of game. [DS]

10.2 Nominal headed clauses

This section describes clauses that have a nominal as the predicate. As adjectives and nominals are members of the same class in Wangkajunga this section also includes what might in other languages be termed adjectival clauses. There is some similarity between verbless clauses and clauses with copula verbs described in the next section. Copula verbs are described as semantically ‘empty’. The Subjects of both these types of nominal predicate clauses have Absolutive case.

The participants in nominal headed clauses are cross-referenced by bound pronouns. They can be cross-referenced by Subject, Dative, Accessory and Ablative bound pronouns. This is illustrated by examples 10.76 to 10.79. In example 10.76 the Subject *karlki* ‘others’ is cross-referenced by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya*. The nominal-headed clause in example 10.77 has both Subject, *-laju*, and Dative, *-ra*, bound pronouns. Example 10.78 has the first person plural exclusive Subject bound pronoun and also the second person singular Ablative bound pronoun cross-referencing the Europeans, *kartiya*, *wayitpalaku*. The second reference to the Europeans *wayitpalaku* has Dative case. Nominal-headed clauses indicating possession have the possessed nominal cross-referenced by a Dative bound pronoun (§10.2.8)

- 10.76 *karlki-ya mitu*
 others-3plS dead
 the others who have died [FLBD]
- 10.77 *Wiya-laju-ra ninti.*
 NEG-1plexS-3sgDAT knowledge
 We didn’t know about it. [FLBD]
- 10.78 *Ngulu-ngulu-pa-laju-ngkura, kartiya, wayitpala-ku*
 afraid-RDP-PA-1plexS-2sgABL Europeans Europeans-DAT
 We were afraid of you, Europeans, of white people. [DHN]
- 10.79 *waru jii-ngka-janampa waru*
 fire DEM-LOC-3plDAT fire
 the fire, their fire is there [SWPN]

10.2.1 Equative clauses

These are clauses in which the Subject entity is identical to the entity referred to by the nominal predicate, that is, the two nominals have the same referent. It is difficult to identify the Subject in clauses of this type where one entity is identical to another. The bound pronoun in example 10.82 cross-references third person dual Subject which refers to

both *ngaakujarra* ‘these two’ or *tujukujarra* ‘two women’. The Subject is clearer in example 10.83 which has a first person singular Subject bound pronoun *-rna* cross-referencing the Subject *ngayu* ‘I’. In this clause the Subject occurs first.

- 10.80 *Ngayu-kurnu martaji Ngatawarlu*
 1sg-POSS country place.name
 Ngatawarlu is my country. [CLTLS]
- 10.81 *Tuju jii Linyarri.*
 woman DEM name
 That woman is Linyarri. [NBK3:94]
- 10.82 *Ngaa-kujarra-pula tuju-kujarra*
 DEM-DUAL-3dIS woman-DUAL
 These are two women./These two are women. [SWPMi]
- 10.83 *Ngayu-rna Nyapurru.*
 1sg-1sgS sub-section.name
 I am Nyapurru. [NBK3:110]

Equative clauses in Wangkajunga can be single words where the Subject is third person singular and has a zero morpheme.

- 10.84 *Minyili-ø*
 plant.name-3sg
 It is ‘minyili’.

10.2.2 Proper inclusion

I have used this term to describe clauses in which a specific entity is asserted to be among the set of items specified by the nominal predicate. In example 10.85 *jilji* is a member of the set of Walmajarri words and *tali* is a member of the set of Wangkajunga words. In these examples the Subject nominal occurs before the predicate nominal. The Subject nominals in examples 10.85 to 10.87 are *jilji* and *tali* ‘sandhill’, *warrangkarli* ‘a plant food’ and *ngaanpa* ‘these’. The nominal clause in example 10.86, is further modified by *yanga talikarraja* ‘the one from the sandhills’. Example 10.87 shows that the Subjects of these types of clauses are cross-referenced by bound pronouns. In this example it is the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* ‘they’.

- 10.85 *jilji Walmajarri an tali-lampaju Wangkajunga*
 sandhill language.name CONJ sandhill-1plDAT language.name
 ‘*jilji*’ is Walmajarri and ‘*tali*’ is our Wangkajunga. [KNG]
- 10.86 *Warrangkarli mayi yanga tali-karraja.*
 bush.fruit plant.food DEM sandhill-DWELL
 Warrangkarli is the fruit that grows in the sandhills. [SWPMi]
- 10.87 *Jina ngaa-n-pa-ya ngiyari-kurnu.*
 footprint DEM-PL-PA-3plS mountain.devil-POSS
 These footprints are those of a mountain devil [CLTLS]

10.2.3 Ascriptive clauses

In ascriptive clauses the predicate nominal ascribes an attribute to the nominal Subject. These clauses can also consist of a single word as in example 10.90. In all the examples the Subject occurs first and the predicate second unless the Subject is only realised as the bound pronoun as it is in example 10.90. In example 10.91 the Subject is preceded by the conjunction *an*. Examples 10.88 and 10.91 show the use of cross-referencing bound pronouns in these types of clauses. Example 10.91 is repeated from 10.76.

- 10.88 *Wanapari kuka palya.*
dingo game good
Dingo is good food. [DHN1]
- 10.89 *Jarrawan, yangka mulan-yuru-kujupa.*
plant.food DEM plant.food-SIM-ANOTH
Jarrawan, the other one like *mulan*. [DHN1]
- 10.90 *Yurra-rna*
thirst-1sgS
I am thirsty. [NBK2]
- 10.91 *An karlki-ya miitu.*
CONJ others-3plS dead
And others who have died. [FLBD]

10.2.4 Locative clauses with nominal predicates

I have found very few examples of locative verbless clauses in the texts. This type of clause is more commonly found with one of the copula verbs (§10.3). Example 10.92 is from an informal text which is a description of a drawing about a woman searching for water. The clause contains the generic nominal *kalyu* ‘water’ and the specific nominal *warla* ‘lake’. In this example also the Subject occurs before the predicate. Example 10.100 is another example of a locative verbless clause.

- 10.92 *Ngaa-kaja kanin-jarra warla-ngka kalyu-ngka*
DEM-EMPH down-ASST lake-LOC water-LOC
This is it down in the lake. [SWPN]

10.2.5 Derived nominals as predicates

Nominal predicates can be derived nominals. In example 10.93 the verb *nyina* ‘sit’ has been nominalised and then has the derivational suffix *-pinti* ‘thing’. The final form is the name of a thing *nyinanjapinti* ‘chair’ and is predicated of the demonstrative *ngaa* ‘this’. Example 10.94 has a nominal predicate with the ‘similar’ derivational suffix *yuru* and 10.95 has a derived nominal predicate with the privative derivational suffix *-parni*.

- 10.93 *Ngaa nyina-nja-pinti.*
DEM sit-NOMZ-THING
This is a chair [NBK2]
- 10.94 *Gooseberry-nga-yila jinjiwirrily-yuru*
gooseberry-FOC-then plant.name-SIM
Then the gooseberry is like *jinjiwirrily* [SWPMi]

- 10.95 *Purli-parni-rna*
 money-PRIV-1sgS
 I haven't any money.

10.2.6 Two nominals as predicate

Nominal predicates can be more than one nominal. In these next three examples two nominals are the predictors for the clause. The Subject occurs before the predicate nominal. Example 10.98 is an illustration of two different types of bush yams.

- 10.96 *Tuju* [*yilta jarlu.*]
 woman really big
 The woman is really big. [SWPN]
- 10.97 *Ngaa* [*murtilya jukujuku.*]
 DEM boy little
 This is a little boy. [SWPN]
- 10.98 *Ngaa* [*mirrka minyili kamu mirrka kanyjirli.*]
 DEM plant.food bush.gooseberry CONJ plant.food bush.gooseberry
 This is a bush gooseberry and [another type of] bush gooseberry. [CLTLS]

10.2.7 Nominal headed clauses as questions

Nominal predicate clauses can also form questions in Wangkajunga. Question words occur clause initially in both nominal and verb-headed clauses in Wangkajunga. In these clauses the question word occurs first and then the Subject second. Example 10.100 is also a possessive clause (§10.2.8).

- 10.99 *Ngana-n nyuntu puyu?*
 what-2sgS 2sg 'skin'
 What is your skin [sub-section or social group]? [NBK3]
- 10.100 *Wanja-ngku nyuntu-ku ngurra?*
 where-2sgDAT 2sg-DAT home?
 Where's your home? [NBK2]
- 10.102 *Ngana jii tuju*
 what DEM woman
 Who is that woman? [NBK3]

10.2.8 Possessive clauses

Verbless clauses can also indicate relationships of possession. Examples of this type of nominal-headed clause all include the Dative bound pronoun. The Subject is the possessor of the predicate nominal. Examples 10.105 and 10.106 show that nominal-headed possessive clauses can form questions. In example 10.105 the question is indicated by the question tag *kurlu*. In example 10.106 the question is indicated by the rising intonation and by the change of order of Subject and predicate. In this example the Subject *ngaa* 'this' occurs second.

- 10.103 *Nyupa-rarra-ku-pula-janampa jiji kujarra, kujarra.*
 spouse-PAIR-DAT-3dlS-3plDAT child two two
 The two kids have these parents. [SWPN]
- 10.104 *ngaa-nga-janampa yali-puru-ku*
 DEM-FOC-3plDAT cold-TEMP-DAT
 This is theirs for the cold weather time. [SWPN]
- 10.105 *Ngaa-yiyala-janampa wungku, kurlu*
 DEM-then-3plDAT windbreak is it
 Then this is their windbreak, is it? [SWPN]
- 10.106 *Nyuntu-ku-ngku ngaa*
 2sg-DAT-2sgDAT DEM
 Is this yours? [NBK2:56]

10.2.9 Negative examples of nominal headed clauses

Examples 10.107 and 10.108 are examples of negative nominal-headed clauses. The negative particle always appears first. Example 10.107 shows that these clauses can consist of the negative particle and the nominal predicate if the Subject is third person singular. In example 10.108 the nominal predicate has a first person plural Subject cross-referenced by the bound pronoun *-laju* and a third person singular Dative argument cross-referenced by the bound pronoun *-ra*.

- 10.107 *Wiya juku*
 NEG small
 She's not small. [SWPY]
- 10.108 *Wiya-laju-ra ninti*
 NEG-1plexS-3sgDAT knowledge
 We don't know it. [FLBD]

10.3 Copula verbs

Lyons (1968:323) describes the copulative verb 'to be' as a purely grammatical dummy in English whose purpose is to carry tense mood and aspect when there is no other verbal element. Payne (1997:115) describes copula verbs as 'empty' because they carry little or no semantic content other than whatever is involved in converting a noun phrase into a predicate.

Wangkajunga has three copula verbs, the stance verbs, *nyina* 'be'; 'sit', 'stay', *ngarri* 'lie' and *ngara* 'stand'. The verb *kanyila* 'have' also has some of the characteristics of a copula verb in possessive clauses (§10.3.3). All three copula verbs *nyina*, *ngarri* and *ngara* belong to the \emptyset verb class and take the tense and aspect inflections of that class. Marsh (1992) suggests that the meaning of *ngarri* is 'be' in a horizontal position and that the meaning of *ngara* is 'be' in a vertical position. I suggest an added dimension of movement to this meaning. Included in the meaning of *ngara* is the notion of being fixed to the horizontal position. The verb is more commonly used for trees growing on a sand hill or a person standing in one place. Perhaps for this reason, the form *ngara* is much less frequent than the other two copula verbs. The forms *ngarri* is used when people are sleeping or camping in a particular place and *nyina* is used when people are sitting, playing or cooking

in a particular place. McGregor (1990:314) describes the difference in meaning between similar stance verbs in Gooniyandi. He suggests that the ‘sit’ verb is normally used of things that are typically relatively active, especially people and that the ‘lie’ verb is used where the thing is quite inactive. In Wangkajunga this difference in meaning rests in the difference between the stance verb *ngara* and the other two copula verbs *nyina* ‘sit’ and *ngarri* ‘lie’.

The three copula verbs are common in existential and locative clauses. I have attempted to illustrate their use under these two headings although as Lyons (1968:390) points out, there is not always a clear distinction between the two. Examples of these verbs are common in texts describing illustrations or works of art.

10.3.1 Existential clauses

Examples 10.109 and 10.110 are examples of existential clauses with the copula verb *ngarrinpa* ‘lying’. Example 10.111 shows that the copula verb *nyina* can have a Dative argument. In this example the Dative marked *yipiku* ‘their mothers’ and *mamaku* ‘their fathers’ are cross-referenced by the third person plural Dative bound pronoun.

- 10.109 *Ngaa-nga-ya ngarr-in-pa puntu jiji.*
DEM-FOC-3plS lie-PRES-PA Aboriginal child
These are Aboriginal children. [SWPMi]
- 10.110 *Kujupa ngarr-in-pa yalta*
ANOTH lie-PRES-PA cold
Another one is cold. [SWPN]
- 10.111 *Kurranyu-janampa-pula nyi-nin, yipi-ku mama-ku*
ahead-3plDAT-3dlS stay-PRES mother-DAT father-DAT
They are ahead of their mothers and fathers. [SWPM]

10.3.2 Locative clauses

Examples of the copula verb *nyina* ‘sit’ are more common in locative clauses than in existential clauses. Example 10.115 shows that copula verbs can have Accessory arguments (§6.2.1.4). This example has *jiji* ‘baby’ cross-referenced by the third person singular Accessory bound pronoun *-lu*.

- 10.112 *Taji-taji warta tali-wana ngarr-in-pa.*
wattle-RDP tree sandhill-PERL stand-PRES-PA
Wattle trees grow along the sandhills. [CLTLS]
- 10.113 *Kanaji-kujarra kamu turru-ya jumu kinti nyin-in-pa.*
snake-DUAL CONJ bird-3plS waterhole close stay-PRES-PA
Two snakes and a bird are near a waterhole. [CLTLS]
- 10.114 *ngaa kuka lungkurta. ngarri-n-pa warta-ngka purltapurlta-ngka*
DEM game blue-tongue.lizard lie-PRES-PA tree-LOC plant.name-LOC
This is a blue-tongue lizard. It’s in a *purlta-purlta* tree. [CLTLS]
- 10.115 *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma jiji-lu yurlta-ngka*
1sg-PL-PA-1plexS in.camp stay-PSTIMP child-3sgACS in.camp-LOC

nyina-ma-wu.

stay-PSTIMP-EMPH

We stayed at the camp, at the camp with the baby. [DHN]

10.3.2.1 Nominalised copula verbs

Copula verbs also occur in subordinate clauses with nominalised suffixes. Nominalisations are discussed in §11.1.3

- 10.116 *Wana-nu-ngku-ya paja-nja-n-tu waru-ngka-rna nyina-nja-nu*
 follow-PST-REFL-3plS bite-NOM-PL-ERG fire-LOC-1sgS sit-NOMZ-TREL
 They were chasing each other trying to bite each other while I sat by the fire.
 [BRNS]

10.3.3 Possessive clauses with *kanyila* ‘have’

Wangkajunga has a number of ways to indicate the relationship of possession between one entity and another. The Having suffix *-kurlu* which is described in §4.2.1 marks an entity in the company of another person or thing. Genitive phrases in which an entity is marked by the suffixes *-ku* or *-kurnu* to indicate possession are discussed in §4.4.3.6 and §4.5.7. Inalienable possession is discussed above in §10.1.2.8. This section illustrates possessive clauses in which the verb *kanyila* ‘have’ is used to denote the relationship of possession. In this use the verb *kanyila* is similar to the copula verbs in that the meaning of the verb can not be described as semantically rich. It merely indicates the relationship of the two arguments as one of possession. Unlike the copula verbs *kanyila* has Ergative Subjects and Absolutive Objects.

- 10.117 *Nyukurni-laju kanyin-ma mimi kartiya-parni-ngka.*
 before-1plexS have-PSTHB sore Europeans-PRIV-LOC
 Before, when there were no Europeans, we had sores. [BRNS]
- 10.118 *Kanyi-la-lanyaju-ya jila-kujupa-ngka.*
 have-PSTHB-1plexO-3plS waterhole-DUAL-LOC
 They looked after us at another waterhole. [DHN]
- 10.119 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa yirna nyupa-rarra-lu*
 child-pl-3plO-3dIS have-PRES-PA man spouse-PAIR-ERG
 The couple has children. [SWPN]

10.4 Verb headed clauses

In this section I describe the main features of verb-headed clauses. Verbs and the arguments they select were discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. The arguments of main clause predicates must be cross-referenced by bound pronouns (§6.2). The third person singular Subject and Object are marked by zero. The cross-referencing of arguments is discussed in Chapter 6.

Wangkajunga clauses can have more than one finite verb. These clauses were discussed in Chapter 9. Complex clauses consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause or two adjoined clauses are discussed in Chapter 11.

10.4.1 Clauses with single argument verbs with Absolutive subjects

Examples 10.120 to 10.122 illustrate clauses with verbs that select single arguments. In example 10.120 the single argument of the verb *yanama* ‘going’ is *nginu* ‘echidna’ and is unmarked and interpreted as Absolutive case. This clause has an optional locative adjunct *ngaangka* ‘here’. The Absolutive case is marked by zero and the third person singular Subject is also marked by zero. Example 10.121 has an Absolutive marked Subject *laltu* ‘lots’ which is cross-referenced by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* ‘they’. The third example 10.122 shows a single argument verb *nyina* ‘sit’ with an added animate participant which is cross-referenced by the third person plural accessory bound pronoun *-jananya*.

- 10.120 *Nginu-ø-ø ngaa-ngka yana-ma.*
 echidna-ABS-3sgS DEM-LOC go-PSTIMP
 An echidna was walking here. [CLTLS]
- 10.121 *Kartal-ja-ya ngaa-yuru-ngka ngarr-in laltu kanin-kanin*
 hole-LOC-3plS DEM-SIM-LOC lie-PRES lots down-RDP
 Lots of them lie at the bottom of holes like this. [SWPN]
- 10.122 *Nyina-ti-ngu-jananya jiji-paraku-ngka*
 sit-ACT-PST-3plACS child-FEW-LOC
 It sat down near the children. [SWPN]

10.4.2 Clauses with verbs with a single Absolutive argument and an optional Dative argument or optional Locative argument

Example 10.123 has a single argument verb *jinkirtirri* ‘laugh at’ which takes a Dative argument. In this example the Dative argument is *wangkaku* ‘your speech’. The Subject argument is cross-referenced by the first person dual Subject bound pronoun *-liju* and the Dative argument is cross-referenced by the second person singular Dative bound pronoun *-ngku*. In example 10.124 the derived verb *mampurlyarrima* ‘become excited’ has an optional locative marked argument the ‘lovely flowers’ which is cross-referenced by the third person singular bound pronoun *-lu*. This is the only example of an accessory case cross-referencing a participant that is non-human.

- 10.123 *Jinkirti-rri-n-pa-liju-ngku wangka-ku.*
 laugh-INCH-PRES-PA-1dIS-2sgDAT speech-DAT
 We are laughing at your speech. [NBK3:8]
- 10.124 *Mampurlya-rri-ma-lu-ya pretty flowers-ngka*
 excited-INCH-PSTIMP-3sgACS-3plS flowers(K)-LOC
 They were getting excited about the flowers. [KNG]

10.4.3 Clauses with verbs with two arguments – an Ergative and a Dative

Example 10.125 illustrates a verb-headed clause with an Ergative marked Subject *wirtalu* ‘the dog’ and a Dative marked argument *parnaparntiku* ‘for a goanna’. In this example the Dative argument is cross-referenced by the third person singular Dative bound pronoun *-ra*.

- 10.125 *Wirta-lu-ra ngurrin-in-pa parnaparnti-ku.*
 dog-ERG-3sgDAT search-PRES-PA goanna-DAT
 The dog is searching for a goanna. [CLTLS]

10.4.4 Clauses with verbs with two arguments – an Ergative and an Absolutive

Examples 10.126 and 10.127 are illustrations of clauses with verbs that take two arguments, a Subject argument marked by the Ergative case and an Object argument marked by the Absolutive case. In a very few clauses particularly those about the weather or the elements, the Subject can be ‘empty’. This is illustrated by example 10.128.

- 10.126 *Puntu-lu jinkan-in piti kalyu-pinti*
 man-ERG carve-PRES wooden.dish water-THING
 The man is carving a water carrying dish. [NBK3:59]
- 10.127 *Tuju-rti-lu-ya-jananya ngurrti-ngka kati-ngu ngurra-kutu.*
 woman-PL-ERG-3plS-3plO wooden.dish-LOC take-PST camp-ALL
 The women took them to camp in a wooden dish. [CLTLS]
- 10.128 *Yalta punga-ma too*
 cold hit-PSTIMP too
 It was getting [striking] cold as well. [KNG]

10.4.5 Clauses with verbs with three arguments

Wangkajunga has a small number of verbs that select three arguments. These are illustrated by examples 10.129 and 10.130. In example 10.129 the Subject argument *punturtirlu* ‘the men’ has Ergative case and the Object *dollar* ‘money’ has Absolutive case. The recipient argument *parntanyrtiku* ‘for the women’ has Dative case. In example 10.130, which has the verb *yungu* ‘gave’, both the theme and the recipient argument are marked with Absolutive case. However in both examples it is the recipients that are cross-referenced. In example 10.129 the recipients are cross-referenced by the third person plural Dative bound pronoun *-janampa* and in example 10.130 the recipients are cross-referenced by the third person plural Object bound pronoun *-jananya*.

- 10.129 *Puntu-rti-lu-janampa-ya parntany-rti-ku dollar yiyan-in.*
 man-PL-ERG-3plDAT-3plS woman-PL-DAT money send-PRES
 The men are sending money for the women. [NBK2:202]
- 10.130 *Yu-ngu-rna-jananya lungkurta-kujarra tuju-rti.*
 give-PST-1sgS-3plO blue-tongue.lizard-DUAL woman-PL
 I gave two blue-tongue lizards to the women. [NBK3:C]

10.5 Grammatical relations

I have identified the grammatical relations Subject and Object in Wangkajunga principally on the basis of cross-referencing by bound pronouns of nominal participants in main clauses. A full description of the cross-referencing bound pronouns was given in Chapter 6. In the complex system of cross-referencing employed by this language, two sets of the bound pronoun clitics stand out. It is neither semantics nor pragmatics that determines which participants are to be cross-referenced by these two sets. I suggest that

these sets cross-reference grammatical relations. I have labelled these two sets Subject and Object.

There is a second area of Wangkajunga grammar where the grammatical relation, Subject, is identified by a grammatical form. This is in the identification of participants in complex sentences. I discuss this reference to Subjects in §10.5.3.

10.5.1 Cross-referencing of subject

In the following sentence the third person plural clitic *-ya* cross-references *yipi-lu*, *mama-lu*, ‘the mothers and fathers’ who have the semantic role of agents. They are marked with the Ergative case. In the second example the third person plural clitic *-ya* cross-references *jiji* ‘the children’ who are playing on the sand hill. In this example the children also have the semantic role of agent but this time they are the single argument of an intransitive clause and have Absolutive case, marked by zero. In the third example the third person plural clitic *-ya* cross-references the children who were born on the ground. In this example *jiji* ‘the children’ has Absolutive case and their semantic role is that of patient. The cross-referencing clitics that belong to the same set as *-ya* all behave in this way. Their use is not determined by the case of the nominal, nor by the semantic role of the nominal.

- 10.131 *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka pu-ngku-la yunga-ma.*
 mother-ERG father-ERG-1plexO-3plS game hit-IRR-SER give-PSTIMP
 The mothers and fathers used to hunt game for us. [DHN]
- 10.132 *Palunya-ya jiji-ø ngarlpu-rr-in-pa-ya tali-ngka.*
 DEM-3plS children-ABS play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS sandhill-LOC
 Those children are playing on the sandhill. [SWPN]
- 10.133 *Laltu-ya yuti-rri-ngun jiji jii martaji-kurlu parna-ngka.*
 lots-3plS visible-INCH-PST child DEM country-HAV ground-LOC
 Lots of children that come from this country were born on the ground. [FLBD]

It could be argued that the use of this set of clitics is determined by pragmatics. Each of the participants cross-referenced by *-ya* ‘third person plural’ in the previous examples could be the topic of the discourse and this could be the function of the cross-referencing. The topic of the discourse is the entity or thing about which something is said. It is the information in the discourse that is already known to the hearer. This is in contrast to the comment or new information that adds more information about the topic (§12.1). The following short discourse provides an example where the cross-referencing clitic *-ya* does not cross-reference the topic. I have numbered the sentences in the discourse. In sentences 1 and 2 *wanapari* ‘dingo’ is the topic as both sentences say something about dingoes. The comment in sentence 1 is the information about the words the Subjects use for ‘dingo’. The comment in sentence 2 is the information that they used to track and spear dingoes.

As *wanapari* ‘dingo’ is third person singular the cross-referencing is zero. The example also has a cross-referencing clitic *-ya* but here it is cross-referencing the people who used to kill dingoes. The example contains another member of the set of clitics to which *-ya* belongs. This is *-laju*, first person plural exclusive, and this also refers to the people who ate the dingoes and not the topic, *wanapari* ‘dingo’. This indicates that the set of clitics to which *-ya* and *-laju* belong is not pragmatically determined. These clitics do not cross-reference the topic of the discourse.

- 10.134 1. *Wanapari-laju waja-nin waltaki, waltaki, jii-n-pa*

- dingo-1plexS say-PRES wild.dog(E) wild.dog DEM-PL-PA
2. *Laltu kuka-laju ngalkun-ma.*
lots game-1plexS eat-PSTHB
3. *Wanapari-lampaju-ya wana-ra waka-rnu.*
dingo-1plexDAT-3plS follow-SER spear-PST
Dingo, we call it wild dog, wild dog. Those [animals]. We used to eat lots
of [dingo] meat. They used to track and spear dingoes for us. [DHN]

10.5.2 Cross-referencing of object

Another set of clitics cross-reference participants that are typically Objects in many languages, including English, although their syntactic rather than semantic or pragmatic role is not so clearly demonstrated. This set of clitics commonly cross-reference participants that are Absolutive marked patients. This is illustrated in the following three examples. In the first example *nyupararralu* ‘parents’ is marked with the Ergative case and cross-referenced by the third person dual clitic *-pula*. This is one of the set of Subject clitics. The other participants, *jijirti* ‘children’, have the semantic role of patient. They are suffixed by the plural *-rti*, have Absolutive case and are cross-referenced by a third person plural clitic *-jananya*. This is one of the set of what I have labelled Object cross-referencing clitics. The second example, repeated from 10.68, has *kujarra kartiya* ‘two Europeans’ cross-referenced by the third person dual Subject clitic *-pula*. The other clitic *-lanyaju* ‘first person plural exclusive’ is one of the set of Object clitics and refers to the group of people being taken. The third example has a third person singular Subject which is cross-referenced by zero and the first person dual clitic *-linya* cross-referencing *ngayukujarra* ‘us two’.

- 10.135 *Jiji-rti-jananya-pula kanyin-in-pa nyupa-rarra-lu larrku-ngka.*
child-PL-3plO-3dIS have-PRES-PA spouse-PAIR-ERG valley-LOC
The parents are looking after their children in the valley between the sandhills.
[SWPN]
- 10.136 *Kujarra-lanyaju-pula kartiya-tu kati-ngu.*
two-1plexO-3dIS European-ERG take-PST
Two took us, Europeans. [KNG]
- 10.137 *Walypa-lu-linya ngayu-kujarra kaalypungan-in.*
wind-ERG-1dIO 1sg-DUAL blow-PRES
The wind is blowing us. [NBK3:93]

However there are a few examples of this set of clitics cross-referencing participants in roles other than that of patient. These are three argument verbs with Ergative, Absolutive and recipient arguments. The recipient argument is cross-referenced by this Object set of clitics. In the first following example the clitic *-rni* ‘first person singular’ cross-references the person being shown the foot who has the semantic role of experiencer. In the second example the clitic *-jananya* ‘third person plural’ cross-references the Wangkajunga people who are recipients of the flour bags. In example 10.140, repeated here from 10.130 above, the Object bound pronoun again cross-references the recipient argument *tujurti* ‘the women’. It is not animacy in this example that influences the choice of Object for cross-referencing but the preference for recipients as Objects rather than the thing that is given.

- 10.138 *Ninti-ju-la-rni mimi jina.*

show-CAUS-IMP-1sgO sick foot.
Show me your sore foot. [NBK2:7]

- 10.139 *Yu-ngun-pa-jananya flourbag kartiya-lu.*
give-PST-PA-3plO flourbag station.manager-ERG
The station manager gave them the flourbags. [FLBD]

- 10.140 *Yu-ngu-rna-jananya lungkurta-kujarra tuju-rti.*
give-PST-1sgS-3plO blue-tongue.lizard-DUAL woman-PL
I gave two blue-tongue lizards to the women. [NBK3:C]

10.5.3 Referring to Subjects of subordinate clauses

In §11.1 I discuss complex sentences in Wangkajunga that are composed of a main clause and a subordinate clause. Two sets of these clauses are the subordinate clauses that add information about the purpose of the action in the main clause and the subordinate clauses which depict actions that ought to be avoided. The action of the subordinate clause can be carried out by an argument of the main clause or by an argument introduced by the subordinate clause and not shared by the main clause. The language has two complementisers that are suffixed to the infinitive of the subordinate clause and show whether or not arguments are shared between clauses. The complementisers are *-kija* and *-jaku* and the notion of Subject is important in the identification of shared arguments.

The *-kija* complementiser can only be used if the Subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the Subject of the main clause. If the Subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the Subject of the main clause speakers can use the unrealised complementiser *-ra*, and, the *-ku* purposive, or the *-kija* complementiser. This is illustrated in example 10.141 and 10.142. In example 10.141 the Subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the Subject of the main clause and the infinitive of the subordinate clause is suffixed by *-kija*. The infinitive of the subordinate clause is marked with Ergative case in agreement with the Subject argument *tujulu* ‘the woman’ of the main clause. In example 10.142 the Subject of the main clause is not the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause and the infinitive is not suffixed by *-kija*.

- 10.141 *Tuju-lu tii pawu-rnu jikil-ku-ra-kija-lu.*
woman-ERG tea cook-PST drink-UNR-INT-ERG
The woman cooked tea because she wanted a drink. [NBK3:133]

- 10.142 *Tuju-lu tii pawu-rnu jiji-ku jikil-ku-ra-ku*
woman-ERG tea cook-PST child-PURP drink-IRR-UNR-PURP
The woman cooked tea for the child to drink. [NBK3:133]

In example 10.143 the Subject of the avoidance subordinate clause is different from the Subject of the main clause. The consultant rejected this example with the suffix *-ngkamarra*. She added the suffix *-jaku* to the infinitive of the subordinate clause to show that the Subjects were not shared by the two clauses. This is illustrated in 10.144.

- 10.143 **Yan-in-pa-rna kayili-kutu wirta-lu-rni pakal-ku-ngkamarra.*
go-PRES-PA-1sgS north-ALL dog-ERG-1sgO get.up-IRR-AVOID
*I’m going to the north so that the dogs don’t get up. [NBK3:133]
- 10.144 *Yan-in-pa-rna kayili-kutu wirta-lu-rni nya-ku-jaku-ngkamarra.*
go-PRES-PA-1sgS north-ALL dog-ERG-1sgO see-IRR-ADMON-AVOID
I’m going to the north so that the dogs don’t see me. [NBK3:133]

10.6 Modifiers of main clauses

In this section I describe a number of constituents that optionally modify Wangkajunga main clauses. The discussion in this section includes constituents which are optional to the main clause and modify the predicate, an argument of the predicate, or the proposition.

In the first section I begin with a short description of Dative marked nominals that are additional to the arguments selected by the predicate. These are the constructions that Hale (1982) has termed the Adjunct Dative. I then describe the nominal constituents that can act as secondary predicates to one of the arguments. I have followed Simpson (1991) and called these ‘active nominals’ and ‘manner nominals’. The remainder of the section is devoted to other constituents with adverbial functions but which I have allocated to minor word classes. These are temporal and spatial modifiers and adverbs. The section concludes with a description of Wangkajunga particles and clitics.

10.6.1 Adding a location

Locative nominals such as those in the example below are optional in Wangkajunga main clauses and specify the location of an argument selected by the predicate. Locational adjuncts or optional constituents specifying the location of a participant or event are described in detail in §4.5.1.

- 10.145 *Ngarlpu-rri-n-pa-ya* *turruruyan-in-pa* *kanin-jarra* *jii-ngka*
 play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS slide-PRES-PA down-ASST DEM-LOC
 tali-ngka *pilyurr-pilyurr-ja*.
 sandhill-LOC steep-RDP-LOC
 They are playing at sliding down the steep slope of that sandhill. [SWPMi]

10.6.2 Adding a purpose or beneficiary

Additional Dative marked participants, specifying the beneficiary of an event can be added to Wangkajunga main clauses.

The status of these Dative marked participants needs more investigation in Wangkajunga to decide whether they really are optional or selected as arguments by the verb. The Dative marked participants in each of the following examples is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun and yet they are not always the selected arguments of these verbs. Hale (1982) argues that these Datives are additional to the arguments selected by the verb and hence the term ‘adjunct Dative’. Simpson (1991) argues that ‘adjunct Datives’ can be selected by the verb and prefers the term ‘external Object’.

Examples 10.146, 10.147 and 10.148 have the verbs *mintimmarnu* ‘sew’, *pungu* ‘hit’ and *kati* ‘take’ respectively. Each of these verbs has a Dative argument that is cross-referenced by a Dative bound pronoun. In example 10.146 the Dative argument is *ngurrpaku* ‘the ones who didn’t know’ which is cross-referenced by the first person plural Dative bound pronoun *-lampaju*. In example 10.147 there is no overt Dative argument but the Dative beneficiaries are cross-referenced by the third person plural Dative clitic *-janampa* ‘for them’ and in example 10.148 the Dative argument is *jijiku* ‘for the children’ which is cross-referenced by third person plural bound pronoun *janampa*. Examples 10.149, 10.150, and 10.151 indicate that the same verbs can select Ergative and Absolutive arguments.

- 10.146 *Turrirti-lampaju-ya minti-ma-nu station-ta nyukurni ngurrpa-ku.*
 dress-1plexDAT-3plS sew(K)-CAUS-PST station-LOC before ignorant-DAT
 They made dresses for us, the ones who didn't know how, in the old days on the
 station. [FBD]
- 10.147 *Kuka-janampa-pula pu-ngu kujarra parnaparnti, kuju kanaji.*
 game-3plDAT-3dIS hit-PST two goanna one snake
 Those two have killed two goannas and one snake for them. [SWPN]
- 10.148 *Malaku-janampa-pula, jiji-ku kati-n-pa kuka laltu.*
 return-3plDAT-3dIS child-DAT take-PRES-PA game lots
 The two of them are taking lots of meat back for the children. [SWPM]
- 10.149 *ka-laju mintim-ma-nun na*
 CONJ-1plexS sew-CAUS-PST then
 And then we sewed it [FLBD]
- 10.150 *Tuju-lu kujarra-lu-pula parnaparnti pung-in-pa*
 woman-ERG two-ERG-3dIS goanna hit-PRES-PA
 Two women are killing a goanna. [CLTLS]
- 10.151 *Tuju-rti-rlu-ya-jananya ngurti-ngka kati-ngu ngurra-kutu.*
 woman-PL-ERG-3plS-3plO wooden.dish-LOC take-PST camp-ALL
 The women took them to camp in a wooden dish. [CLTLS]

10.6.3 Modifying how an argument carries out an action

Manner nominals and active nominals are a small sub-class of nominals that show how the action of the main verb is carried out by an argument of the main clause. In transitive clauses these nominals receive Ergative case marking in agreement with the Ergative case marked Subject argument. Action nominals, unlike manner nominals, can modify the action of an argument other than the Subject. The nominals in these two groups are nearly always secondary predicates. I have not found examples of them in a constituent as modifiers of another nominal nor as arguments of main clause predicates. Case agreement indicating the relationship between the an active or manner nominal and an argument is discussed in §6.1.1.4.

Similar constructions are found in Yankunytjatjara, (Goddard 1985), Pitjantjatjara (Bowe 1990), Martuthunira (Dench 1987), and Warlpiri (Simpson 1991). They have been allocated to the class of 'adverb' by Bowe and 'nominal' by the other grammarians. Whereas Goddard (1985:17) has allocated them to a class of 'active adjectives', Simpson (1991:125) has divided them into 'active' and 'manner nominals'.

10.6.3.1 Active nominals

The following is a list of examples of the active nominals in Wangkajunga.

<i>ngarlpu</i>	'playing'
<i>ngulu</i>	'afraid'
<i>ngurra</i>	'make camp'
<i>ngurrpa</i>	'ignorant'
<i>ninti</i>	'knowing'
<i>nyunmi</i>	'burnt'
<i>rawa</i>	'camping out'

<i>wanka</i>	‘alive’
<i>wartilpa</i>	‘hunting’
<i>wurna</i>	‘moving away’
<i>yunmi</i>	‘ripe’
<i>yurlta</i>	‘being in camp’

In the example 10.152 the active nominal *wartil* is marked by the Ergative case in agreement with the Ergative Subject of the verb *ngurinma* ‘search’. Example 10.153, has the active nominal *wurna* ‘move away’ with zero marking in agreement with the Absolutive Subject of the intransitive verb *yanin* ‘go’.

In example 10.154, the active nominal *yurltajanuku* ‘the ones from home’ has the Dative case in agreement with the adjunct Dative argument *jijiku* ‘for the kids’.

- 10.152 *Ngurrin-ma-lampaju-ya wartil-tu.*
 search-PSTHB-1plexDAT-3plS hunting-ERG
 They used to search for it and hunt it for us. [DHN1]
- 10.153 *Wurna-rna ya-nin-pa raapu-ngka yapurra.*
 moving.away-1sgS go-PRES-PA Friday-LOC south.
 I’m going south on Friday. [KNG]
- 10.154 *Malaku-janampa-pula kati-n-pa jiji-ku yurlta-janu-ku*
 back-3plDAT-3dIS carry-PRES-PA child-DAT in.camp-ABL-DAT
 The two of them are bringing it back for the children, for the ones from home.
 [SWPM]

10.6.3.2 Manner nominals

Manner nominals are also marked with Ergative case in transitive clauses and Absolutive case in intransitive clauses. They show how the Subject carries out the action. This group does not agree with arguments other than the Subject. The following is a list of manner nominals. Examples 10.155-10.160 illustrate their use in transitive and intransitive sentences.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>kawalya</i> | ‘quietly’, ‘peacefully’ |
| <i>maarra</i> | ‘wrongly’ |
| <i>murrani</i> | ‘continually’ |
| <i>wala</i> | ‘quickly’ |
| <i>yaru</i> | ‘slowly’, ‘quietly’ |
| <i>yumu</i> | ‘for nothing’, ‘apologetically’ |
| <i>yurra</i> | ‘thirstily’ |
- 10.155 *Wala-lu-rni-n yu-ngku*
 quickly-ERG-1sgO-2sgS give-FUT
 Give it to me, quickly. [NBK2:36]
- 10.156 *Wala wirrja-la-rni ngayu-kutu*
 quickly run-IMP-1sgACS 1sg-ALL
 Quickly, run this way, towards me. [NBK2:170]
- 10.157 *Ngalkun-in-pa-ya murrani-lu*
 eat-PRES-PA-3plS continually-ERG
 They are always eating. [NBK2:53]
- 10.158 *Murrani-lu pawu-ra nyina-payi*

continually-ERG cook-SER stay-CHAR
 She is a person who is always cooking. [NBK2:113]

- 10.159 *Yumu-lu yiya-nin-pa-rna-ngku.*
 trivial-ERG send-PRES-PA-1sgS-2sgO
 I am just sending this to you for nothing. [KNG]

- 10.160 *Wiya-laju-ngku kuralpu-wa kalyu-kurlu-lu nothing*
 NEG-1plexS-REFL wash-PSTHB water-HAV-ERG nothing(E)
yumu nyina-ma.
 trivial stay-PSTIMP
 We didn't wash ourselves with water, nope, we just used to stay
 like that. [DHN]

10.6.4 Relating sentences in texts – *palunyajanu*, *palunyangka*

The sentence modifiers *palunyajanu* 'after that', and *palunyangka* 'at that time', 'and then', modify events in texts. They clarify the timing of the events in a narrative by relating the timing of one event to another. Unlike other temporal modifiers in Wangkajunga these modifiers receive case marking in agreement with the Subject of the sentence. These sentential modifiers always occur at the beginning of the sentence. (See also §11.2.4)

- 10.161 *Palunyajanu malaku-laju ya-nu.*
 SENTMOD back-1plexS go-PST
 After that we went back. [KNG]
- 10.162 *Palunyajanu-lu parra-rni panarrijanarri-ma.*
 SENTMOD-ERG around-1sgO piggyback-PSTIMP
 And after that she was carrying me around on her back. [BRNS]
- 10.163 *Manma-lku-ya kati-ku-lanyaju-ya yu-ngku palunyangka-laju*
 scoop.up-FUT-3pLS take-FUT-1plO-3pLS give-FUT and.then-1plexS
nga-lkun-mal jii-nga karluwayi-nga.
 eat-FUTIMP DEM-FOC bush.honey-FOC
 They will scoop it up and bring it for us, and then it'll be bush honey we'll be
 eating. [BRNS]

10.6.5 Adding more information about the timing of an event

Wangkajunga has a small group of nominals that are optionally added to a clause to place the event in time. They are invariable words except for a few limited exceptions. These are discussed in §4.7. Example 10.164 illustrates the use of the time nominal *rukaruka* 'early in the morning'.

- 10.164 *an ngula-ya miti-kurlu warinkati-ø ruka-ruka*
 CONJ later-3pLS cooked.meat-HAV arrive-NARPST sundown-RDP
 And later, in the late afternoon they would come back with the cooked meat.
 [DHN]

10.6.5.1 Historic time

The words of this group are commonly found at the beginning of the sentence. These are invariable words although *ngula* may be related historically to a pronominal form discussed in §5.2.6. The word *kuwarri* is also used in modern Wangkajunga to mean ‘today’. The meaning of the forms *ngula* ‘later’ and *nyukurni* ‘before’ are limited only by being before or after the present time. The meaning of *nyukurni* ‘before’ can extend from the time when the Wangkajunga people lived the traditional life in the desert to a short time before the present. The word *nyukurni* can also refer to events at the beginning of time when land forms were created. This is sometimes referred to as The Dreaming. The timing of events in the Dreaming does not parallel the timing of events in the secular world. I have not attempted to describe the temporal reference to these complex concepts. Examples 10.165 and 10.166 are examples of the use of historic time words.

<i>kuwarri</i>	‘now’
<i>ngula</i>	‘later’
<i>nyukurni</i>	‘before’

- 10.165 *Paka-rnu-laju ngula yapurra yalati ngapi-kutu Kurungal-kutu.*
 get.up-PST-1plexS later south holiday(K) HES-ALL place.name-ALL
 And we got up later and went south for the holidays to, um, Kurungal. [DHN1]
- 10.166 *Nyukurni-ya road-pa wanin-ma*
 before-3plS road-PA cut¹-PSTIMP
 They graded the road some time ago. [KNG]

10.6.6 Adding extra spatial information about the event

Another small closed class of words without the full range of either nominal or verbal suffixing is one that refers to an event in space. The word *mala* ‘back’ receives the derivational suffix *-karti* ‘side’ for the meaning ‘at the back of’ and ‘behind’. Examples in the texts indicate that although these modifiers generally occur at the beginning of the sentences, other orders are acceptable.

<i>junga</i>	‘straight’
<i>kurranyu</i>	‘ahead, in front of’
<i>munkarra</i>	‘further on’
<i>pina</i>	‘distant’
<i>tiiwa</i>	‘distant’
<i>kutungka</i>	‘middle’
<i>malaku</i>	‘return’
<i>malakati</i>	‘behind’
<i>nganjarrpa</i>	‘outside, alone’
<i>ngatangata</i>	‘halfway’

Examples 10.167 to 10.171 illustrate the use of *pina* ‘far’, *malakati* ‘at the back’, *nganjarrpa* ‘outside’, and *ngatangata* ‘halfway’, and *junga* ‘straight’.

- 10.167 *Ya-nu-laju kakarra pina-minyirri.*
 go-PST-1plexS east far-VERY
 We went east for a very long way. [DHN]

¹ The meaning of the verb *wanila* ‘cut’ has been extended to the grading of a road (§8.3.3.2).

- 10.168 *Ngarri-ngu-pula malakati kujarra-kujupa.*
 lie-PST-3dlS behind two-ANOTH
 Another two slept at the back. [KNG]
- 10.169 *an murtilya-kujupa nganjarrpa kutu-wana.*
 CONJ boy-ANOTH outside middle-PERL
 And another boy is [lying] on the outside across the middle. [SWPY]
- 10.170 *Yilta-laju-lu laju-pulanya warinkarti-ø ngatangata*
 really-1plexS-3sgACS 1plexS-3dlACS arrive-NARPST halfway
kuka-ku-kurra kuka-kutu.
 game-DAT-ALL game-ALL
 We would really hurry to meet them halfway for the meat. [DHN]
- 10.171 *Ngayu-rti-kutu-linya junga yan-in.*
 1sg-PL-ALL-1dlACS straight go-PRES
 Its coming straight for us! [NBK3:101]

10.6.6.1 Directions

Additional spatial information about an event can be included by the use of direction words. These are discussed in §4.7. Although in the following example the direction word occurs at the beginning of the clause this is not the only position for direction words. Example 10.172 is an illustration of the direction word *kayili* ‘north’.

- 10.172 *Kayili-laju ya-nu.*
 north-1plexS go-PST
 We went north. [KNG]

10.6.7 Adding more information about how the event is carried out

Besides the spatial modifiers discussed in 10.6.6 Wangkajunga has another large group of independent words that have no nominal or verbal inflections. Like other independent words they can be the base for the bound pronouns but can also stand alone. (I have not included the class of interjections in this section. They are listed in §3.5.) I have called this group of words particles. Particles can occur in several places in the clause. Some are confined to the initial position and others are without place restriction. I have noted this in the discussion of each particle. They add information about how the event was carried out. They do not have case marking in agreement with the Subject in the same way as the manner nominals and active nominals. Goddard (1985) has a group of adverbs in Yankunytjatjara that are separate from particles. This group includes similar words to Goddard’s adverbs. In this section I list the particles and provide a short description and example of each particle.

The negative particle *wiya* is discussed in §12.3.

<i>jamun</i>	‘about to, almost’
<i>nyamu</i>	‘finally’
<i>purtu</i>	‘unsuccessfully, in vain’
<i>wituka</i>	‘also, once again’
<i>wulu</i>	‘continuously, endlessly’

10.6.7.1 *jamun* ‘about to’, ‘almost’, ‘just’

The word *jamun* ‘almost’ occurs in any position in the clause and indicates that the event almost happened or was about to happen. The meaning of the particle does not extend to whether or not the event actually happens. This is indicated by examples 10.173 to 10.175. In examples 10.173 and 10.175 the event does take place at a later time. The action described in example 10.174 is prevented from happening. I have added the speaker’s gloss to this example.

- 10.173 *Jamun-na-rna-ngku yiya-rnu jii-rtuka.*
 about.to-FOC-1sgS-2sgO send-PST DEM-EMPH
 I am just now about to send that to you. [KNG]

- 10.174 *Ya-nku-mara jamun*
 go-FUT-HYP almost
 She was trying to go. (speaker’s gloss) [BRNS]

- 10.175 *Jamun-pa yalta-rri-n*
 just-PA cold-INCH-PRES
 It’s just getting cold. [NBK2:246]

10.6.7.2 *nyamu* ‘that’s all’, ‘that’s it’

This particle indicates that an event has finished. It is common in texts as the signal that a section or entire text is completed. This is illustrated in the first example as the speaker completes the list of people who went on the trip.

The word *nyamu* has a second function as a farewell. In this function it can stand alone as an utterance in the *nyamu* form or as *nyamawu* with a vocative ending.

- 10.176 *Only three kartiya, yirna-kujarra-pula an parntany-pa kuju,*
 only three Europeans man-DUAL-3dlS CONJ woman-PA one
ngayu-rna, jiji-kujarra-pula, kujarra Lisa kamu Charlene Jukuna-kura
 1SG-1sgS child-DUAL-3dlS two name CONJ name name-POSS
ngawuji nyamu, jii-n-pa-na-laju ya-nu
 grandchild that’s.all DEM-PL-PA-FOC-1plexS go-PST
 Only three Europeans, two old men and a woman, me, and two kids, Lisa and Charlene, Jukuna’s grandchild, that’s all, they’re the ones that went. [KNG]

- 10.177 *Nyamu, ngala-ngu-li.*
 finally eat-PST-1dlS
 That’s it, we two have eaten it. [NBK2:78]

10.6.7.3 *nyamuna* ‘right there’

This is similar to the previous word *nyamu*. This second form *nyamuna* is made up of *nyamu* and the form *-na* originally a borrowing from English ‘now’. This particle is used to reinforce a point made about a place or an action. This particle can occur in various places in the clause.

- 10.178 *Wurna-rna paka-rnu, nyamuna*
 move.away-1sgS get.up-PST right.there
 I got up and moved away from that very place. [PNTGS]

- 10.179 *Ya-nu-laju, nyamuna kaarla-rnu jii-ngka-wu yankirra-rnu*
 go-PST-1plexS right.there broke-PST DEM-LOC-EMPH cracked-PST
 We went on and, it was right there that it broke, it cracked. [KNG]

10.6.7.4 *putu* ‘unsuccessfully’, ‘in vain’

The particle *putu* indicates that the participants were unsuccessful in carrying out the action. In all the text examples this particle occurs at the beginning of the clause. Example 10.180, illustrates this particle.

- 10.180 *Putu-laju-ra jina-ku watiju-rnu road-ku mutika-ku*
 in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT foot-DAT track-PST road-DAT vehicle(K)-DAT
 We looked in vain for the track, vehicle road. [KNG]

10.6.7.5 *wituka* ‘besides’, ‘also’

The particle *wituka* indicates that the participants carry out the action of this clause in addition to another previous action. This particle occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- 10.181 *Wituka-lampaju-ya wani-nun palunya-rti-lu.*
 also-1plexDAT-3plS cut-PST DEM-PL-ERG
 And they are the ones that cut it out for us as well. [FLBD]
- 10.182 *Wituka karrpi-la ngapi-kurlu-lu yakapuri-kurlu-lu*
 also tie.up-IMP HES-HAV-ERG Parrot.pea-HAV-ERG
 She also tied it up with [the stringy bark of] the Parrot Pea bush. [BRNS]

10.6.7.6 *wulu* ‘continuously’, ‘endlessly’

The particle *wulu* indicates that an event continues for an indefinite time. This particle always appears clause initially. I have used the speakers’ gloss for example 10.183.

- 10.183 *Wulu-ya ya-nu.*
 endlessly-3plS go-PST
 They’re gone for good. [speakers’ gloss] [NBK3:78]
- 10.184 *Wulu kampa-ma waru*
 continuously burn-PSTIMP fire
 The fire would burn continuously. [BRNS]

10.6.8 Adding information about a participant

In this section I discuss particles that modify the participant rather than the event.

10.6.8.1 *lurrju* ‘also’

The particle *lurrju* modifies the nominal that it follows. It suggests that the referent of the nominal it follows is extra to the referent(s) of the nominal, or nominals, mentioned previously.

- 10.185 *Ngana-partu ngana-partu kuka, jalapa, jantu lurrju, wirta,*
 INDEF-TYPE INDEF-TYPE game lizard dingo also dog

marrany-pa-janampa-pula waka-rnu
 dingo-PA-3plDAT-3dIS spear-PST
 What types of game, lizards, and dingoes as well, dogs, dingoes, they speared
 them for the [the kids]. [SWPM1]

- 10.186 *Maitbi-ya ma-namal pura lurrju*
 maybe-3plS get-FUTIMP bush.tomato also
 They might also be getting bush tomatoes. [SWPMi]

10.6.8.2 *wiyaju* ‘only’

The particle *wiyaju* follows the nominal it modifies as in examples 10.187 to 10.189. The suffix may have historically been related to the negative particle *wiya*. The particle marks the participant as not being a very good representative of a class or as being a sole member of a class. Example 10.189 shows that this particle can occur on both a modifier and its head.

- 10.187 *nyukurni-ya flourbag-wiyaju mintim-ma-nu ngurrpa-ku.*
 before-3plS flourbag-only sew(K)-CAUS-PST ignorant-DAT
 In the old days, when they didn’t know, they only sewed flourbags. [FLBD]
- 10.188 *Ngaa-ya jiji-wiyaju nyin-in-pa yurlta-ngka*
 DEM-3plS child-only stay-PRES-PA in.camp-LOC
 These are only children staying in camp. [SWPN1]
- 10.189 *Karrayili-lu nya-ku-ra ngaa-wiyaju picture-wiyaju*
 name-1sgACS see-IRR-UNR DEM-only picture-only
 This is only a picture to show Karrayili. [PHOTOS]

10.6.9 Adding speaker’s attitude

A small number of particles add speakers’ attitude to a proposition.

10.6.9.1 *munta* ‘possibly’, ‘maybe’

There are not many examples of this particle in the texts. It indicates that the speaker is questioning the identity of the nominal it follows. This particle is also discussed in the section on questioning (§12.2)

- 10.190 *Ngaa wilura-kujupa-nga, ngana kuka munta*
 DEM south-ANOTH-FOC INDEF game DUB
 This other one to the south, what animal could it be? [SWPN]

10.6.9.2 *maitbi, maiti* ‘possibly’, ‘maybe’

This particle has been borrowed into Wangkajunga from Kriol and is originally related to English ‘might be’. It expresses doubt on the part of the speaker about the whole proposition as in example 10.191 or about the identity of a nominal as in 10.192. The particle occurs at the beginning of the clause.

- 10.191 *an maiti-rna malaku-rri-ku slack week,*
 CONJ maybe-1sgS return-INCH-FUT non.pay.week
 And I’ll possibly come back during ‘slack week’. [KNG]

- 10.192 *Well maitbi-janampa jiriki palunya-rti-ku ngaa turru.*
 well maybe-3plDAT bird DEM-PL-DAT DEM bird
 Well maybe this bird is theirs. [SWPN]

10.6.10 Clitics

The following forms are not independent words. They are attached to words of various classes and follow other case or tense mood and aspect inflections. In initial position they are attached directly to the word and precede the bound pronouns. This ordering is illustrated in example 10.193. These clitics have scope across the whole proposition. In this discussion I have divided them according to their function as connective clitics and speaker attitude clitics. I have no examples of more than one clitic occurring in each clause. There is a wide range in the frequency of use of this type of clitic with the emphatic clitics occurring most often. This may not be an exhaustive list of clitics in the language.

10.6.10.1 Clitics indicating speaker's attitude

<i>kirli</i>	'probably'
<i>lka</i>	'contrary to expectation'
<i>ngulyu</i>	'certainly'
<i>nyu</i>	'reportedly'
<i>pa</i>	'questionably'
<i>yilta</i>	'emphatic'

-*kirli* 'probably'

By using this clitic the speaker assumes that something is probably true. This is illustrated by example 10.193. In this example the speaker is making a statement about something that happened some time ago and as far as she is aware it is true.

- 10.193 *Waka-rnu-lampaju, not Realla, jamu-kirli kuju,*
 spear-PST-1plDAT not name grandfather-probably one
jii-ngka-kirli Pililuna
 DEM-LOC-probably place.name
 He speared it for us, not Realla, probably one of her grandfather's,
 she was probably in Billiluna. [DHN]

-*lka* 'contrary to expectation'

This clitic has the meaning 'it's not what you expect'. There are very few examples in the texts. Hansen and Hansen (1978) labels the same clitic in Pintupi as CONEXP for 'contrary to expectation. I have used the same term and abbreviation. Example 10.194 illustrates the use of *-lka*.

- 10.194 *Ngaa-ngka-lka jarrpa-ngu.*
 DEM-LOC-contrary enter-PST
 So here's where it went in [not over there]. [SWPA]

-*ngulyu* (CERT) 'certainly'

This is a frequently occurring clitic that indicates the speakers' belief that the statement about an entity is true. The certainty could be the result of the speaker having witnessed an

event or having been told about it. The consultant's gloss for this clitic is 'that's the one now'. The speaker was a witness to the event in example 10.195, but was assured of the event in example 10.196.

- 10.195 *Kuwarri-ngulyu-pula jatimap-pu-ngu ya-nu.*
 now-CERT-3dIS close.up-hit-PST go-PST
 It was only just now that they closed up the shop and went. [NBK2:75]
- 10.196 *Wirta-ngulyu jii kantu-rnu.*
 dog-CERT DEM kick-PST
 That's the dog that got kicked. [NBK2:104]

-pa 'could be'

The clitic *-pa* is homophonous with the epenthetic syllable *-pa*. It can occur in situations that are unexpected for the epenthetic *-pa* such as after vowel final words and before the bound pronoun clitic cluster. This is the normal position for speaker attitude clitics. Hansen and Hansen (1978:216) suggests that the meaning for this *-pa* in Pintupi is as a marker of a question. This needs more investigation for Wangkajunga. In the two Wangkajunga examples 10.197 and 10.198 the clitic *-pa* could indicate interrogation. In example 10.198 the question is also signalled by the tag *-kurlu*. A very common expression in Wangkajunga has the indefinite pronoun *ngana* followed by *pa* and means 'what's up'?

- 10.197 *Ngaa-yilta-pa partiri-kurlu warta kuntupungu-yuru*
 DEM-really-DUB flower-HAV tree plant.name-SIM
kuntupungu-munu-kujupa-kirli.
 plant.name-CONTR-ANOTH-EMPH
 Then this could really be a tree with flowers, like a 'kuntupungu' tree,
 not a kuntupungu, another one like it. [SWPN3]
- 10.198 *Ngaa-yila-pa-janampa wungku, kurlu*
 DEM-then-DUB-3plDAT windbreak TAG
 And then this could be their windbreak, could it? [SWPMi]

-nyu (REP) 'they say'

The clitic *nyu* occurs very frequently in conversation and in texts. It is attached to various word classes and asserts the truth of a statement or the identity of a participant. The form may be related to *kunyu* 'reported' that is common in the southern Western Desert languages. I have suggested this in the translations. Unlike the *kunyu* form, which typically occurs in second position in the southern Western Desert languages, *-nyu* doesn't have a fixed position. In example 10.200 it is at the end of the proposition.

- 10.199 *An kuka-janampa-nyu ngaa-nga kanaji, kuka-nga yilta-nga*
 CONJ game-3plDAT-REP DEM-FOC snake game-FOC really-FOC
 And they say this snake is edible, it is really meat. [SWPY]
- 10.200 *Gooseberry kamu jinjiwirrily-pa-pula yirrakarral-payi-nyu.*
 gooseberry CONJ plant.name-PA-3dIS slimey-CHAR-REP
 Gooseberry and 'jinjiwirrily' they say, are slimey. [SWPMi]

There are two more clitics that add speakers' attitude to a proposition. I have labelled them both emphatic (EMPH). The first *-kaja* is not common in the texts and there is no

evidence about its position. The second *-rtuka* occurs frequently and can occur in any position.

-kaja (EMPH) emphatic

- 10.201 *Ngaa-kaja kanin-jarra warla-ngka, kalyu-nga.*
 DEM-EMPH down-ASST lake-LOC water-FOC
 This bit is the water down in the lake. [SWPN]

-rtuka, rtu (EMPH) emphatic

- 10.202 *punpalpunpal-ja-nga-laju ngaa-yuru-ngka-rtuka ngarri-ngu,*
 heat-RDP-LOC-FOC-1plexS DEM-SIM-LOC-EMPH lie-PST
mangkaja-yuru
 shelter-SIM
 In the extreme heat we lay in a shelter just like this. [SWPN]
- 10.203 *Ya-rra-ya jii-ngka-rtu-pa tupurlnga-rra.*
 go-PSTHB DEM-LOC-EMPH-DUB swim-PSTHB
 They'd probably go there just for the swimming. [SWPM]

10.6.10.2 Connective clitics

- kaji* 'when, while'
la 'when'
lta 'then'
yila 'then'

-kaji 'while', 'when'

- 10.204 *Kurrapapakurta-lu wana-rnu kaji-laju mana-ma purti pulawa*
 name-ERG follow-PST when-1plexS get-PSTIMP flowers(K)
 Kurrapakurta followed it while we were getting the flowers. [KNG]

-la 'when'

- 10.205 *Ngaa-lu ka-ngu wirrupu-ngu kuka-kujupa-la palipu-ngu*
 DEM-ERG carry-PST throw.away-PST game-ANOTH-when found-PST
 This one carried it and threw it away when he found another animal. [SWPN]

-lta 'then'

- 10.206 *Yu-ngun-pa-jananya kartiya-lu mintim-ma-nun-pa-lta-ya.*
 give-PST-PA-3plO European-ERG sew(K)-CAUS-PST-PA-then-3plS
 They gave it to them and then they sewed it. [FLBD]

-yila 'then'

Both of the next examples come from the same text in which the speaker is describing various parts of a small illustration.

- 10.207 *Ngaa-yila-janampa jirntirrirntirr yan-in nyina-ti-n*
 DEM-then-3plDAT willy.wagtail go-PRES stay-ACT-PRES
kurtun-ja-puru malakati
 sleep-LOC-TEMP behind
 Then this Willy Wagtail is coming and sitting down with them at bedtime.
 [SWPN]
- 10.208 *Ngaa-yila-pa-ya parnparn-ja ngarr-in jiji-nga*
 DEM-then-DUB-3plS warmth-LOC lie-PRES child-FOC
 And then, are these children lying in the warmth? [SWPN]

10.7 Constituent marking in the Western Desert and four northern neighbours

The status of the noun phrase has been difficult to define in many Australian languages and linguists differ about how they should be analysed. This makes the task of comparison of noun phrases in the languages of the Western Desert unclear. Bowe (1990) has argued for a noun phrase in Pitjantjatjara with a fixed order of occurrence of sub constituents. She suggests that the constituent noun phrase is relevant to the syntax of Pitjantjatjara (1990:140). In the following table I have compared the case marking of constituents without assuming the existence or otherwise of noun phrases.

The table shows that the southern Western Desert languages all have case marking on nominal constituents and that Pintupi is similar to the southern languages. Two languages of the northern Western Desert, Kukatja and Manyjilyjarra have some final marking of nominal constituents. In the feature of constituent marking Yulparija and Wangkajunga are aligned with Walmajarri and Nyangumarta. All of these languages mark each nominal in a constituent. Jaru and Warlpiri have similar marking features in that discontinuous nominals agree in case. However adjacent nominals in Warlpiri have marking on the final nominal while adjacent nominals in Jaru have at least one member, not necessarily the final one, marked for case.

Table 10.1: Nominal constituent marking in Western Desert and four non-Western Desert neighbours

non-Western Desert	
Warlpiri	final marking or identical marking for adjacent nominals, agreement on discontinuous nominals
Jaru	generally all nominals referring same argument agree in case, at least one member must be marked on adjacent nominals
Walmajarri	all nominals referring to same argument agree in case
Nyangumarta	all nominals referring to same argument agree in case
Northern Western Desert	
Yulparija	all nominals referring to same argument agree in case
Wangkajunga	all nominals referring to same argument agree in case
Kukatja	all nominals referring to same argument agree in case some instances of final marking on adjacent nominals

Manyjilyjarra	all nominals referring to same argument agree in case some instances of final marking when demonstrative and common noun are adjacent
Pintupi	case occurs on the last of adjacent nominals referring to the same argument
Southern Western Desert	
Ngaanyatjarra	case occurs on last of adjacent nominals referring to the same argument
Pitjantjatjara	case occurs on last of adjacent nominals referring to the same argument
Yankunytjatjara	case occurs on last of adjacent nominals referring to the same argument
Gugada	case occurs on last of adjacent nominals referring to the same argument

11 *Complex sentences*

Introduction

This chapter describes complex sentences in Wangkajunga. Complex sentences in the language are formed by the subordination or co-ordination of simple clauses. Subordinate clauses, §11.1, consist of a main clause with a tensed verb and a subordinate clause with an infinitive. Subordination in the language has many of the features described for the languages of the area (Austin 1988). Co-ordinate clauses, §11.2, consist of two tensed clauses. The discussion begins with the features of subordinate clauses. Purposive clauses are discussed in §11.1.1, Temporal relative clauses in §11.1.3.2 and a small group of what I have called Nominal relative clauses are described in §11.1.3.7. Relative clauses that are linked by the *yangka* demonstrative are discussed in §11.1.3.8. Conditional clauses are discussed in §11.1.3.9 and §11.1.4 describes another type of subordinate clause, the Avoidance Subordinate clause. Complex sentences composed of two coordinated finite clauses are discussed in §11.2.

11.1 Subordination

Subordinate clauses consist of a non-finite verb and a suffix, or a nominalisation and a suffix. The suffix relates the subordinate clause to the main clause. Two of these suffixes relate the grammatical function of the arguments of the subordinate clause to the grammatical function of the arguments of the main clause. Subordinate clauses cannot be marked for time independently of the main clause. I have divided subordinate clauses in Wangkajunga into Purposive clauses, Relative clauses, Conditional clauses and Avoidance clauses. Purposive clauses can be further divided into Purposive and Purposive intensive clauses. Relative clauses are further divided into Temporal relative clauses, Nominal relative clauses and relative clauses with *ngula* and *yangka*. Subordinate clauses in Wangkajunga have the following features.

1. Complex sentences with Purposive subordinate clauses have a main clause with a finite verb and an infinitival clause with a complementiser *-ra* or a complementiser *-ra* plus *-ku*. The action of the subordinate clause happens as a consequence of the action of the main clause. Purposive subordinate clauses can be marked with the *-kija* suffix to show that the main clause and the subordinate clause share the Subject. They can also be suffixed by *-jaku* to show that the Subject of the main clause is different from the Subject of the subordinate clause. The Purposive subordinate clause typically follows the main clause.

2. Relative subordinate clauses add information about one of the arguments of the main clause. Relative subordinate clauses consist of a nominalised verb plus case marking. The case of an argument of the relative clause infinitive agrees with the case of one of the arguments of the main clause verb. Relative subordinate clauses can indicate the temporal relationship of clauses as well as information about an argument of the main clause. Relative clauses can also be composed of the demonstrative *yangka*. Relative clauses commonly follow the main clause.
3. Temporal relative clauses relate the timing of a subordinate clause to the timing of the main clause. These are composed of the nominalisation *-nja* plus *-janu* or *-nu*. These clauses do not agree in case with arguments of the main verb and do not usually share Subjects with the main verb.
4. Avoidance subordinate clauses describe an adverse action that an argument of the main clause aims to avoid. The Avoidance complementiser is suffixed to the irrealis form of the verb. If the Avoidance subordinate clause shares the Subject with the main clause the complementiser is *-ngkamarra*. If the Avoidance subordinate clause and the main clause have different Subjects the complementiser includes the different Subject suffix and is *-jakungkamarra*.
5. There are a small number of examples of conditional clauses that are connected by the demonstrative *yangka*. These clauses suggest the consequences of hypothetical events and have a subordinate clause verb in the hypothetical or obligative mood.

Subordinate clauses of all types, except nominal relative clauses, nearly always follow the main clause. The overt arguments of the infinitive, if it has them, occur adjacent to the infinitive. In the following discussion I mention differences in the ordering of main and subordinate clauses.

In a few examples where the number of persons in the main clause argument is not equal to the number of persons of a shared subordinate clause argument the subordinate clause arguments are cross-referenced. The status of these clauses as subordinate or separate clauses is not clear.

Complex sentences consisting of a main clause and a non-finite subordinate clause are not common in the texts. Many of the examples in this section are elicited but based on the few forms used in the texts. In this section I discuss each of the subordinate clause types in detail. The various forms of subordinate verbal predicates are set out below.

Table 11.1: Subordinate clauses in Wangkajunga

Subordinate clauses formed by irrealis stem of the verb plus suffix	
<i>Complementiser</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>-ra</i>	purpose
<i>-ra+ku</i>	purpose
<i>-kija</i>	purpose same Subject,
<i>-kija</i>	intention, implication
<i>-jaku</i>	different Subject
<i>-jaku</i>	admonitive, warning
<i>-ngkamarra</i>	Avoidance

Subordinate Clauses formed by <i>-nja</i> nominaliser	
Complementiser	Function
<i>ø</i> - case	additional information about an argument
<i>-janu, nu</i>	time of main event in relation to subordinate clause event
<i>-puru</i>	time of main event

11.1.1 Purposive subordinate clauses

Wangkajunga speakers have three ways of indicating the purpose or reason for the activity denoted by the event of a main clause. The purpose or reason is described by an infinitival clause that follows the main clause and takes place after the event of the main clause. The infinitival clause has the following forms.

1. Purposive clauses marked by the *-ra* unrealised suffix (§8.4.4)
2. Purposive clauses marked by the *-ra* unrealised suffix and the *-ku* complementiser. The *-ku* complementiser describes the purpose of the action of the infinitival clause.
3. Purposive clauses marked with the intentive *-kija*. This suffix can occur after the *-ku* complementiser, after the *-ra* suffix or following the irrealis stem of the verb. This has two functions:
 - i. to describe the intention of the Subject of the main clause
 - ii. to indicate that the Subject of the main clause is the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause.

11.1.1.1 Purposive clauses with the *-ra* unrealised suffix

The *-ra* unrealised suffix has several functions and these are described in §8.4.4. In subordinate clauses it describes the reason for the event of the main clause. The *-ra* suffix follows the irrealis suffix and refers to situations that are anticipated but have not actually happened. The infinitive and the overt arguments of the infinitive are contiguous in the examples. The Subject of the *-ra* clause is not always the same as the Subject of the main clause (examples 11.4 and 11.5). In examples 11.1 to 11.3 the event of the subordinate clause is anticipated but has not taken place. In these examples the Subject of the main clause is the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause.

- 11.1 *Tuju-lu-ya lilurl-pa man-in-pa jarram-pa pawu-lku-ra.*
 woman-ERG-3plS poker-PA get-PRES-PA prawns-PA cook-IRR-UNR
 The women are getting poker to cook the prawns. [NBK3:133]
- 11.2 *Waja-la-lampaju-ya ngana-yuru pawu-lku-ra flour?*
 say-NARPST-1plexDAT-3plS INDEF-SIM cook-IRR-UNR flour
 They would say to us ‘How is flour cooked?’ [DHN]
- 11.3 *Majarri-ya nyin-in-pa wangka-ø-ra.*
 visitor-3plS stay-PRES-PA speak-IRR-UNR
 The visitors are staying to talk. [NBK3:100]

The -ra unrealised suffix and cross-referencing

The participants of the *-ra* unrealised clause can be cross-referenced by bound pronouns if they are not the same number of participants as those in the main clause. This is illustrated by the examples above and examples 11.4 and 11.5 below. In examples 11.1 to 11.3 above the Subjects of the main clause are the same as the Subjects of the *-ra* clause. The arguments of *-ra* clause are not cross-referenced in these examples. In example 11.4 the Subject of the main clause is *tuju* ‘woman’ who is third person singular and has a zero bound pronoun. She is also the Subject of the *-ra* clause but there is an extra recipient. The first person singular recipient of *yungkura* ‘to give’ is cross-referenced by the Object bound pronoun *-rni*. In example 11.5 the Subjects of the main clause are the singers who are cross-referenced by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya*. The Object of the singing is the first person singular *-rni*. This Object of the singing is the Subject of the *-ra* clause and is cross-referenced by the first person singular Subject bound pronoun.

The addition of the cross-referencing bound pronouns to examples 11.4 and 11.5 gives these sentences the features of two separate clauses rather than complex sentences. I have treated them as complex sentences because the infinitive in these examples has the same form as the infinitive in examples 11.1 to 11.3.

- 11.4 *Tuju yan-in-pa ngaa-kutu yu-ngku-ra-rni milimili.*
 woman go-PRES-PA DEM-ALL give-IRR-UNR-1sgO paper
 A woman is coming this way to give me a paper. [NBK2:121]
- 11.5 *Yinka-la-rni-ya tuju-kurnu-kurlu palya-rri-ngku-ra-rna*
 sing-IMP-1sgO-3plS woman-POSS-HAV good-INCH-IRR-UNR-1sgS
 Sing me a women’s song so that I’ll get better. [NBK2:56]

11.1.1.2 Purposive clauses with the -ku complementiser

The *-ku* complementiser is a common Purposive marker in many Australian languages and identical in form to the Dative. The Dative suffix *-ku* is discussed in §4.4.3. The *-ku* Purposive can be distinguished from the *-ku* Dative by its function as a complementiser relating the activity of the subordinate clause to the event of the main clause. Unlike the Dative, the *-ku* complementiser is not cross-referenced by the bound pronouns in the main clause. The *-ku* Purposive is suffixed to the unrealised suffix *-ra*. The *-ku* complementiser is illustrated by example 11.6.

- 11.6 *Tuju-lu knife bayim-ma-nin-pa kuka puluku kaalpu-ngku-ra-ku.*
 woman-ERG knife buy(K)-CAUS-PRES-PA meat bullock cut-IRR-UNR-PURP
 The woman is buying a knife for cutting beef. [NBK3:133]

In each of the examples the subordinate clause follows the main verb and the action of the subordinate clause takes place after the action of the main clause. The Subjects of these Purposive clauses can be the same as the Subject of the main clause or the same as the Object of the main clause. In example 11.6 the Ergative Subject of the main clause, *tujulu* ‘woman’ is the same as the Subject of the Purposive clause. Example 11.7 also illustrates the *-ku* complementiser in a subordinate clause with the same Subject as the main clause. In example 11.8 the main clause Subject *tujulu* ‘woman’ is not the same as the Subject of the *-ku* complementised infinitive. In this example it is the children who will drink the tea. The Subject argument of the infinitive *jijiku* ‘for the kids’ is also marked with the *-ku* complementiser. This is the Subject of the subordinate clause *jikilkuraku* ‘to drink’.

11.7 *Nada-lu wana ma-nu karnti-kutu ya-nku-ra-ku.*
 name-ERG digging.stick get-PST potato-ALL go-IRR-UNR-PURP
 Nada got a digging stick to go for potatoes. [NBK3:134]

11.8 *Tuju-lu tea pawu-rnu jiji-ku jiki-lku-ra-ku.*
 woman-ERG tea cook-PST child-PURP drink-IRR-UNR-PURP
 The woman made some tea for the child to drink. [NBK3:133]

The Purposive complementiser *-ku* can also occur on nominals as well as on nominalised verbs. This is shown in the next examples and 11.8 above. In example 11.9 the Absolutive argument of the Purposive clause, *tea-ku* ‘for tea’ has the *-ku* complementiser. In this example the nominal marked by the *-ku* complementiser is an Object argument of the infinitive *pawulkuraku*.

11.9 *Tuju-lu-ra ngurri-nu ma-nu jangalany tea-ku*
 woman-ERG-3sgDAT search-PST get-PST firewood tea-PURP
pawu-lku-ra-ku.
 cook-IRR-UNR-PURP
 The woman collected firewood to make some tea. [NBK3:133]

In 11.10 the *-ku* complementiser is in a construction with a nominal but without the *-ku* complementised infinitive. Hale (1982) calls this the ‘autonomous’ case or ‘vague predication’ use of complementised nominals. He suggests that

the interpretation of an autonomous complementised nominal involves an abstract, semantically unspecified, verb in logical form is intended to capture the fact that the predication is indeed vague. (Hale 1982:286)

The nominal *jii-ku* ‘for that’ is possibly intended to cover the meaning of a number of infinitive clauses. In this particular example the use of the demonstrative *jii* makes the predication even more semantically vague and possibly covering any of the following and potentially many more:

11.10 *Tuju-ya wartil-pa yana-ma jii-ku.*
 woman-3plS hunting-PA go-PSTIMP DEM-PURP
 The women were going hunting for that. [CLTLS]

<i>karntiku ngurrilkuraku</i>	to search for potatoes
<i>karnti jawalkuraku</i>	to dig potatoes
<i>karnti pawulkuraku</i>	to cook potatoes
<i>karnti ngalkuraku</i>	to eat potatoes

The -ku complementiser and cross-referencing

When the number in the Subject of the main clause is not the same as the number in the Subject of the infinitival clause the arguments of the infinitival clause are cross-referenced by bound pronouns. This is illustrated in example 11.11 where the main clause has a single first person Subject and the infinitival clause has two first person Subjects. The Subjects of the infinitival clause in this example are cross-referenced by the first person dual Subject bound pronoun *-li*.

- 11.11 *Ma-nku-rna mangarri nga-lku-ra-ku-li supper.*
 get-FUT-1sgS food eat-IRR-UNR-PURP-1dIS supper
 I'm going to get some food so that the two of us can eat supper. [NBK3:134]

Negating a Purposive clause

Example 11.12 shows how a Purposive clause can be negated. The negative particle *wiya* (§12.3) typically occurs at the beginning and end of the clause. In this example it occurs after the main clause and at the beginning of the infinitival clause. The event denoted by the infinitive is negated but not the event denoted by the main clause.

- 11.12 *Ngalkun-ma-laju sugar drypala wiya tea-ngka jii-ngka*
 eat-PSTIMP-1plexS sugar dry(K) NEG tea-LOC DEM-LOC
pawu-lku-ra-ku.
 cook-IRR-UNR-PURP
 We were eating dry sugar, not cooked in the tea. [DHN]

11.1.1.3 Intentive purposives marked with *-kija*

The *-kija* intentional suffix indicates that the Subject of the main clause intends to or wants to carry out the action depicted by the infinitive clause. The *-kija* intentive can only be used when the Subject of the main clause is the same as the Subject of the infinitival clause. The infinitives suffixed by *-kija* are generally marked with case in agreement with arguments of the main clause. The meaning of *-kija* is illustrated by the speakers' gloss for *pungkurakijalu* in example 11.13. I suggest that these clauses are a second type of Purposive clause.

- 11.13 *Jii-ngka-ra jawa-nin-pa pu-ngku-ra-kija-lu*
 DEM-LOC-3sgDAT dig-PRES-PA hit-IRR-UNR-INT-ERG
 She is digging there for it 'because she wants to get it and knock it'. [SWPM]

Intentive Purposive clauses always follow the main clause.

The *-kija* suffix can follow *-ra* (unrealised suffix) an irrealis stem or a nominalised verb (§11.1.3.1). In this section I discuss each of these in turn.

-kija intentive suffixes attached to the unrealised stem

In example 11.13 above the infinitive clause is marked Ergative in agreement with the Ergative Subject of the main clause. In example 11.14 the Subject of the main clause *tujulu* 'woman' is the same as the Subject of the infinitival clause *jikilurakijalu*. The infinitival is marked Ergative in agreement with the Ergative Subject of *pawurnu* 'cooked'.

- 11.14 *Tuju-lu tea pawu-rnu jiki-lku-ra-kija-lu.*
 woman-ERG tea cook-PST drink-IRR-UNR-INT-ERG
 The woman made some tea because she wanted a drink. [NBK3:133]

-kija intentive suffix attached to irrealis stem of the verb

It is possible for the *-kija* suffix to be added to the irrealis stem of the verb rather than following the *-ra* unrealised suffix. Although both types of infinitival clause illustrate a reason for the action of the main clause the outcome is more certain in the unrealised infinitival clause. In examples 11.15 and 11.16 the Subjects are planning expeditions that

are not actually occurring at the time of the utterance. This is in contrast to example 11.13 where the woman is already engaged in the hunting activity and there is a strong possibility that she will realise her intention. In example 11.15, the Object of the infinitive is marked Purposive.

- 11.15 *Tuju-rti-lu-ya ya-nku Derby-kutu nya-ku-kija*
 woman-PL-ERG-3plS go-FUT place.name-ALL see-IRR-INT

parntany-parntany-ku.

woman-RDP-PURP

The women will go to Derby because they want to see the old women.

[NBK3:103]

- 11.16 *Tuju-rti-lu-ya wana ma-nu pu-ngku-kija-lu.*
 woman-PL-ERG-3plS digging.stick get-PST hit-IRR-INT-ERG

The women got digging sticks because they want to go hunting. [NBK3:90]

Expected consequence marked with -kija

I have recorded one example with *-kija* suffix used for intensitive clauses with inanimate Subjects such as in the description of weather conditions. In example 11.17 the *-kija* suffix is not added to the infinitive *-ra* form of the verb but to the irrealis stem as above. This example differs from the other examples semantically and syntactically. Firstly, the Subject of the main clause is inanimate and it is difficult to imagine inanimate entities with intent. The meaning is more the event of the infinitive is an expected consequence of the event of the main clause. Secondly in this example the Subject of the main clause is *yurnturrpa* ‘clouds’ and not the same as the Subject of the infinitive. The Subject of the infinitive is the Absolutive Subject argument *kalyu* ‘rain’ of the verb *punkala* ‘fall’.

- 11.17 *Yurnturr-pa ya-nin-pa kalyu punka-l-kija.*
 clouds-PA go-PRES-PA rain fall-IRR-INT

Clouds are coming because it might rain. [NBK3]

-kija infinitives with intransitive main clauses

The function of the *-lu* Ergative case marking suffix is possibly adapting to a more general function when it occurs on infinitival *-kija* clauses. On these clauses it may function as a signal that the main clause Subject controls the Subject of the infinitive. In each of the following examples the infinitive with the *-kija* intensitive suffix is marked with the Ergative case. In all three examples 11.18, 11.19 and 11.20 the main clause verb is the intransitive *yarra* ‘go’ which has an Absolutive Subject. In example 11.19 which is taken from a text the Subject of the infinitival is cross-referenced by the third person plural exclusive bound pronoun *-laju*. The examples do not indicate that it is the infinitival verb that controls the Ergative case because 11.20 has an Ergative marked infinitival verb although the verb is the intransitive *nintirrira* ‘to learn’.

Example 11.18 has a cross-referencing bound pronoun in the infinitival clause. In §11.1.1.1 and §11.1.1.2 I suggest that cross-referencing clitics are in the infinitival clause when the number of persons in the shared argument of the two clause is different. This is not the case in example 11.18. Bound pronouns occasionally occur after each word in a clause in texts. This occurs in clauses about travelling long distances (§6.2.2). This may be the reason for the bound pronoun in the infinitival clause in this example.

- 11.18 *Tuju wartil-pa ya-nin-pa pu-ngku-kija-lu kuka lungkurta.*
 woman hunting-PA go-PRES-PA hit-IRR-INT-ERG game blue-tongue.lizard
 The woman is going hunting because she wants to kill a blue tongue lizard.
 [NBK3:64]
- 11.19 *Ya-nu-laju kuka-laju pu-ngku-ra-kija-lu ngaya.*
 go-PST-1plexS game-1plexS hit-IRR-UNR-INT-ERG cat
 We went on because we wanted to kill a cat. [DHN]
- 11.20 *Ya-nin-pa-rna wartilpa ninti-rri-ra-ku-kija-lu*
 go-PRES-PA-1sgS hunting knowing-INCH-UNR-PURP-INT-ERG
 I am going hunting because I want to learn. [NBK3:64]

The -kija suffix with speech verbs

The *-kija* suffix is also used in the complements of speech verbs. In these examples it is clearly the speech verb of the main clause that determines the case of the Subject of the subordinate clause. This is illustrated in examples 11.21 and 11.22 where the subordinate clauses *yankukija* ‘wants to go’ are marked by the Ergative case in agreement with the main clause predicate *wajala* ‘tell’ which selects Ergative case. In these speech verb purposive intentives the *-kija* suffix is added to the future stem of the verb rather than the infinitive.

Example 11.21 illustrates the ordering of the negative particle *wiya* in the subordinate clauses of speech verbs. As the example shows it occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause.

- 11.21 *Jukuna-lu-rni waja-rnu wiya ya-nku-kija-lu*
 name-ERG-1sgO say-PST NEG go-IRR-SS-ERG
 Jukuna told me that she doesn’t want to go. [NBK3:75]
- 11.22 *Rosie-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-kija-lu.*
 name-ERG-1sgO told-PST go-IRR-SS-ERG
 Rosie told me that she wants to come. [NBK3:64]

-kija intensitive on nominals

The *-kija* intensitive complementiser can occur on nominals without the infinitival clause. This is similar to the function of the *-ku* complementiser in example 11.10. In example 11.23, the *-kija* intensitive is suffixed to the nominal ‘cool drink’ and is intentionally vague to cover a range of meanings which could occur in an infinitive clause.

- 11.23 *Marnti yan-in-pa cool-drinku-kija.*
 boy go-PRES-PA cool-drink-INT
 The boy is going because he wants a cool drink. [NBK3:133]

-kija intensitive suffix on nominalised verbs

The *kija* intensitive suffix can also be added to nominalised verbs to restrict the reference of an argument of a main clause. In example 11.24 a relative subordinate clause is formed with *yurra* ‘thirst’ plus nominaliser *-nja* (§11.1.3) plus *-kija* plus Ergative case. This clause adds information about the Subject *tujulu* ‘the woman’ of the main clause. In this example

both the Ergative case on the nominalised cause and the *-kija* suffix show that the relative clause and the main clause share the Subject.

Relative clauses in Wangkajunga typically occur after the main clause (§11.1.3). This order is illustrated in this example.

- 11.24 *Tuju-lu warta murrjan-in yurra-nja-kija-lu.*
 woman-ERG stick chew-PRES thirst-NOM-INT-ERG
 The woman who wants to quench her thirst, is chewing on a stick. [NBK3:90]

11.1.2 Subordinate clauses marked with *-jaku*.

This suffix follows the future stem of the verb and has the two functions set out below.

1. The suffix *-jaku* indicates that the Subject of the main clause is not the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause.
2. The suffix *-jaku* is used to issue a warning or scolding about the action of the subordinate clause.

For both uses the *-jaku* suffix is attached to the irrealis stem of the verb. The first function of *-jaku* is illustrated in examples 11.25 and 11.26. Example 11.25 contrasts with 11.22 above. The difference between the two examples is the use of *-jaku* rather than *-kija*. In main clauses with speech verbs where the Subject is different from the subordinate clause Subject the infinitive of the subordinate clause is suffixed by *-jaku*.

The different Subject function is not limited to the subordinate clauses following main clauses with speech verbs. In example 11.26 *-jaku* also signals that the Subject of the main clause, *tuju* ‘women’ is not the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause *wirta* ‘dog’. In the Avoidance clauses discussed in §11.1.4 the Avoidance form is additional to *-jaku*.

- 11.25 *Maree-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-jaku.*
 name-ERG-1sgO say-PST go-IRR-DS
 Maree told me that she [Sandy] wants to go. [NBK3:65]
- 11.26 *Tuju-lu-ya mangarri warta-ngka ju-un wirta-lu nga-lku-jaku.*
 woman-ERG-3plS food tree-LOC put-PST dog-ERG eat-IRR-DS
 The women put the food in the tree so that the dog wouldn’t eat it. [NBK3:135]

11.1.2.1 The *-jaku* complementiser and cross-referencing

In example 11.27, also with the speech verb *wajala* ‘tell’, the main clause Subject ‘Barbara’ differs from the subordinate clause Subject, the first person singular *-rna*. There is also a difference in the number and person of participants in the infinitival clause to the main clause. The cross-referencing bound pronouns add the information about the number and person of the arguments of the main and infinitival verbs. The main clause Subject is third person singular and cross-referenced by the zero morpheme. The main clause Object is first person singular and is cross-referenced by *-rni*. The infinitival clause has a first person singular Subject bound pronoun *-rna* and a second person plural accessory bound pronoun *nyurranya*.

- 11.27 *Barbara-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-jaku-rna-nyurranya*
 name-ERG-1sgO say-PST go-IRR-DS-1sgS-2plACS
 Barbara told me that I could go with all of you. [NBK3:65]

11.1.2.2 *-jaku* as a warning suffix

The suffix *-jaku* is also used as a warning or Admonitive suffix. In this use it is only attested with subordinate clause Subjects that are different from main clause Subjects. In this use I have labelled it ADMON for Admonitive.

- 11.28 *Jukuna-lu jiji-ku waja-rnu punkal-jaku kalyu-ngka*
 name-ERG child-DAT say-PST fall-ADMON water-LOC
 Jukuna said to the child, ‘You’ll fall in the water!’ [NBK3:89]
- 11.29 *Wiya-n ya-nku nyarra-kutu pu-ngku-jaku-nta-ya*
 NEG-2sgS go-FUT DEM-ALL hit-IRR-ADMON-2sgO-3plS
 Don’t go over there because they’ll hit you. [NBK2:64]

In its Admonitive function the *-jaku* suffix, attached to the future stem of the verb, is commonly used without the main clause. The following expressions are used as warnings of the potentially adverse affect of an action, to get away from a poisonous snake as in example 11.31, or, in the case of 11.32, to admonish a child after inappropriate behaviour. In example 11.30 the *-jaku* Admonitive follows the irrealis form of the verb which is *kuntal* for the ‘*la*’ conjugation of the verb *kuntala* ‘cut’.

- 11.30 *Kunta-l-jaku-ngku-n*
 cut-IRR-ADMON-REFL-2sgS
 You’ll cut yourself! [NBK2:149]
- 11.31 *Ju-rra ju-rra pakal-jaku*
 put-IMP put-IMP get up-ADMON
 Leave it! Leave it! It might get up! [NBK2:80]
- 11.32 *Pu-ngku-jaku-rna-nta!*
 hit-IRR-ADMON-1sgS-2sgO
 I’ll hit you!

11.1.3 Relative clauses

11.1.3.1 Nominalisation

Relative clauses add further information about a participant in the main clause. Wangkajunga relative clauses are formed by nominalisation. The verbs of each conjugation class can be nominalised. Table 11.2 illustrates the *-nja* nominalising suffixes for the four verb classes. Nominalisations formed by *-nja* are not present in Purposive, Admonitive and Avoidance subordinate clauses in Wangkajunga.

Table 11.2: *-nja* nominalisations

Verb class	Stem	Gloss	Nominalised form
<i>ø</i>	<i>ngarri</i>	‘lie’	<i>ngarri-nja</i>
<i>rra</i>	<i>yanku</i>	‘go’	<i>yanku-nja</i>
<i>wa</i>	<i>pungku</i>	‘hit’	<i>pungku-nja</i>
<i>la</i>	<i>pajal</i>	‘bite’	<i>paja-nja</i>

The *-nja* nominalisation plays a smaller role in subordination in Wangkajunga than it does in the southern Western Desert languages. Goddard (1985) writes that it is through

nominalisation that syntactic subordination takes place in Yankunytjatjara. He says that Yankunytjatjara subordinate clauses always decompose into a nominalised clause followed by a case inflection or relator suffix (§11.3).

Both the *-payi* and *-nja* nominalisation are productive in Wangkajunga for producing words for non-traditional concepts. Nominalisations with the Characteristic nominalisation *-payi* are discussed in §8.4.3. Nominalisations with the *-nja* suffix followed by *-pinti* ‘associated thing’ are discussed in §4.2.1.2. The resulting nominals can be arguments of finite verbs as in examples 11.33 and 11.34.

11.33 *Ngana-rlu ma-rnu openim-ma-nku-nja-pinti ngaa-janu?*
DEM-ERG get-PST open-CAUS-IRR-NOMZ-INST DEM-ABL
Who got the key from here? [NBK2:86]

11.34 *Nya-ngu-rna pajal-payi mulyaminyirr-pa.*
see-PST-1sgS bite-CHAR King.brown.snake-PA
I saw a poisonous [biting] King Brown snake. [NBK3:54]

11.1.3.2 Temporal relative clauses with *-janu*

Wangkajunga has a set of subordinate clauses in which the infinitive consists of a nominalised verb followed by *-janu* or *-nu*. The *-janu* form is identical to the Ablative case marker. The purpose of these endings is to relate the timing of the event in the main clause to the timing of the event in the subordinate clause (Hale 1976). It is possible that this covers two types of temporal relationship. The examples indicate that it is predominantly one in which the event of the main clause happens at the same time as the event of the subordinate clause. However it is also possible to interpret the temporal relationship as one of succession, such as in example 11.35, where the event of the main clause happens after the event of the subordinate clause. I have labelled the *-janu*, *-nu* suffixes as TREL for Temporal Relative.

Allomorphs of -janu

I suggest that *-janu* and *-nu* are allomorphic variations of the ablative *-janu*. I suggest this principally because it is difficult to find any semantic or syntactic difference between them but also because the first syllable of *-janu* is identical to the last syllable of the nominaliser *-nja*. Wangkajunga speakers commonly drop one syllable when two identical syllables follow each other (see §2.5). Example 11.35 is an elicited example in which the speaker is careful of her speech. In this situation, the haplology, the dropping of the identical syllable, is less likely to occur. The example shows that it does not.

The features of -janu, -nu subordinate clauses

1. The temporal relative clause is not marked for case in agreement with the main clause.
2. There is no control over the arguments of the temporal relative clause by the main clause.
3. The temporal relative clause can have an overt Subject and Object arguments.
4. The temporal relative clause follows the main clause.

5. The arguments of the temporal relative clause can be cross-referenced by bound pronouns if an argument shared with the main clause differs in the number in the main clause and the number in the subordinate clause.

Examples 11.35 to 11.37 illustrate the features of temporal relative clauses. In example 11.35 the Object of the main clause is the same as the Object of the Temporal Relative clause. In example 11.36 the main clause and Temporal Relative clause do not share arguments and in example 11.37 the Object of the main clause is the Subject of the subordinate clause. Examples 11.35 and 11.36 show that if the arguments of the Temporal Relative clause need identification they are cross-referenced by bound pronouns.

In examples 11.35 and 11.36, which are both from texts, the Temporal Relative clause occurs sentence finally. In example 11.35 the Temporal Relative clause is embedded in the main clause. This is not the pattern suggested by other text examples and is possibly an unnatural order given during the repetition of elicitation.

- 11.35 *Nya-ku-ngara-rni-n wirta-lu-rni paja-nja-janu limi-kurlu.*
 see-IRR-OBLIG-1sgO-2sgS dog-ERG-1sgO bite-NOMZ-TREL wound-HAV
 You would have seen me with a wound after the dogs had bitten me. [NBK3]
- 11.36 *Wana-rnu-ngku-ya paja-nja-n-tu, waru-ngka-rna nyina-nja-nu.*
 chase-PST-REFL-3plS bite-NOMZ-PL-ERG fire-LOC-1sgS sit-NOM-TREL
 The ones who had been biting were chasing each other, while I sat by the fire.
 [BRNS]
- 11.37 *Wana-ra-jananya tikarl-tikarl-ma wama nga-lku-nja-nu*
 follow-SER-3plO chase-RDP-PSTIMP nectar eat-IRR-NOM-TREL
 It would follow and climb after them while they were eating nectar. [BRNS]

11.1.3.3 The *-puru* temporal complementiser

Wangkajunga has another suffix that indicates the timing of the event of the main clause. It is unlike the *-janu* suffix in that it does not indicate a relationship between the participants of main and subordinate clauses. In Wangkajunga the suffix is *-puru* and all attested examples occur on nominals rather than nominalised verbs.

- 11.38 *Pu-wa-laju yalta-puru.*
 kill-NARPST-1plexS cold-TEMP
 We would kill it in the cold weather. [DHN]
- 11.39 *Nyina-ti-n kulirr-ja-puru malakati.*
 sit-ACT-PRES sleep-LOC-TEMP behind
 It sits behind them when they go to sleep. [SWPN]

11.1.3.4 Serial Verb Constructions with temporal succession

The temporal relationship of events can also be described by serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions are frequently used to describe temporal succession enacted by the same Subjects. The following are examples, some are repeated from §9.7.1, where I describe this particular type of serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions relate the timing of one event to another but not with one clause subordinate to another. The relationship of the two events is described as one of co-subordination by some writers

(Foley and Olson:1985). Hale (1982:303) notes the following about a similar means of showing temporal succession in Warlpiri.

the close succession of infinitive and finite verbs, in that order and without intervening intonational break, achieves an effect which is semantically more closely akin to co-ordination than to subordination.

These Wangkajunga serial verb constructions are illustrated in 11.40 to 11.42. They do not involve nominalisations.

- 11.40 *Pu-wa-laju-ø-ø yujunpu-wa ngalanga-la nyina-ma.*
hit-IMP-1plexS-3sgO roast-NARPST eat-NARPST sit-PSTIMP
After we'd killed it, roasted it and eaten it we used to rest. [DHN]
- 11.41 *Yurlta-ngka-laju pu-ngku-la, nga-lkun-ma.*
in.camp-LOC-1plexS hit-IRR-SER eat-IRR-PSTIMP
We, the ones at home, would be eating it after we'd killed it. [DHN]
- 11.42 *Puluman-pa-laju-ø yungka-la, waka-rnu ngala-ngu.*
beef-PA-1plexS-3sgO hit.with.missile-SER spear-PST eat-PST
After knocking a bullock down, we'd spear it and eat it. [DHN]

11.1.3.5 Relating the timing of clauses with the particle *kaji*

The recorded texts have two examples of two finite clauses related by *kaji*. This is shown in 11.43. The particle joins clauses that do not share arguments. This particle appears to relate the timing of the event in the main clause to the timing of the event in the subordinate clause. The recorded texts are spoken by middle aged and older speakers. The *kaji* complementiser is more common in short texts dictated by younger speakers for the purpose of school literacy programmes. Example 11.44 is from one of these texts. An even more common way for younger speakers to write about related events is to use two separate sentences as shown in 11.45. The context for these sentences was that the two boys riding horses were seen while the group was travelling back to the school.

- 11.43 *Kurrapakurta-lu wana-rnu kaji-laju ma-nama purti pulawa.*
name-ERG follow-PST while-1plexS get-PSTIMP flowers(K)
Kurrapakurta followed it while we were getting the flowers. [KNG]
- 11.44 *Kaji nyarli-rri-ngu ma-nu-jananya-ya marlaku nyupa-nga-rtuka.*
while sleep-INCH-PST get-PST-3plO-3plS back spouse-FOC-EMPH
While he went to sleep, they took those wives back. [TJRN]
- 11.45 *Marlaku ya-nku-laju Kurungal-kutu. Nya-ngu-laju marnti-kujarra-lu*
return go-FUT-1plexS community-ALL see-PST-1plexS boy-DUAL-ERG
timana-pula pirnin-ma.
horse-3dlS ride-PSTIMP
We went back to Kurungal. We saw two boys riding horses. [SCL]

11.1.3.6 Relating the timing of clauses with clitics

The language has a number of clitics that join two clauses with temporal succession. These are discussed in §10.6.10. Example 11.46 with the clitic *-la*, repeated from 10.205, illustrates this type of complex sentence.

- 11.46 *Ngaa-lu ka-ngu wirrupu-ngu kuka kujupa-la palipu-ngu*
 DEM-ERG carry-PST throw.away game another-when found-PST
 This one carried it and threw it away when he found another animal. [SWPN]

11.1.3.7 Nominal relative clauses

Wangkajunga has another set of nominalised clauses that do not describe a temporal relationship between the main and subordinate clause but rather add extra information about one of the arguments of the main clause. I have labelled these clauses ‘Nominal Relative clauses’. Nominal Relative clauses can be combined with Temporal Relative clauses (Hale 1976). The features of these subordinate clauses are listed below.

1. There is no complementiser in nominal relative clauses.
2. The nominal relative clause has case marking to relate it to an argument of the main clause.
3. The nominal relative clause modifies an argument of the main clause.
4. The nominal relative clause typically follows the main clause.
5. The nominal relative clause is formed by the nominaliser *-nja* and *-njan* and can have derivational nominal suffixes as well as case marking.
6. There are no examples of cross-referencing clitics in the nominal relative clause.

Examples 11.47 to 11.53 are examples of nominal relative clauses. The relative clause in example 11.50 is both a nominal relative clause and a temporal relative clause. The nominal relative clauses in these examples add information about arguments of various syntactic function. The examples below show relative clauses modifying the Subject, Object and Dative arguments of main clauses.

In example 11.47 the relative clause *pajanjantu* ‘the ones who were biting’ has the Ergative case mark *-tu* in agreement with the Ergative Subject of *wanala* ‘chase’. In this example the Subject and Object of the main clause are co-referential or reflexive as the *-ngku* reflexive bound pronoun indicates. The relative clause has no cross-referencing. In comparison, the Temporal Relative clause in the same example has a pronominal clitic cross-referencing its Subject, first person singular *-rna*, no case marking in agreement with the main verb *wanala* ‘chase’ and an overt adjunct *warungka* ‘by the fire’.

- 11.47 *Wana-rnu-ngku-ya paga-njan-tu waru-ngka-rna nyina-nja-nu.*
 follow-PST-REFL-3plS bite-NOM-ERG fire-LOC-1sgS sit-NOM-TREL
 The ones who had been biting, were chasing each other while I sat by the fire.
 [BRNS]

In the relative clause in example 11.48 *kaalpungkunja* ‘the broken pieces’ is the Object of the main clause verb *kampangu*¹ ‘burnt’ and has Absolutive case. Example 11.49 has a relative clause modifying the theme argument of the main clause serial verbs *pawurnu yungu* ‘cooked for’. In this example the relative clause is made up of a serial verb construction *junu yankunjangka* ‘the thing left in’. The relative clause has Locative case agreement with the Locative case *-ja* on the location *kilyrrja* ‘in the coals’.

¹ The verb *kampa* ‘burn’ is the only recorded example of a verb that can select either an Ergative or Absolutive subject (§7.1).

- 11.48 *Waru kampa-ngu kaalpu-ngku-nja.*
 fire burn-PST break-IRR-NOM
 The broken firewood burned. [BRNS]
- 11.49 *Tilpu-lu-rni pawu-rnu yu-ngu ju-nu ya-nku-nja-ngka kilyirr-ja.*
 mother-ERG-1sgO cook-PST give-PST put-PST go-IRR-NOM-LOC coals-LOC
 My mother had cooked and given me [the meat] which was left in the coals.
 [BRNS]

The relative clause typically follows the main clause and if there is an overt nominal, follows the nominal it modifies. This is shown in examples 11.51 and 11.52 where the overt nominals are *wilykartu* ‘lizard’ and *jijilu* ‘children’ respectively. In example 11.49 a locational modifier follows the relative clause and in 11.50 a temporal modifier follows the relative clause. In example 11.53 the locational modifier *ngumpangka* ‘in the shade’ occurs before the relative clause *ngarrinjan* ‘the ones lying’.

Example 11.52 shows a relative clause with the derivational nominal suffix *-pinti* ‘associated thing’. Example 11.47 has a main clause with the finite verb *wanarnu* ‘follow’ and two subordinate clauses. The relative clause *pajanjantu* ‘the ones who were biting’ follows the main clause. The location *warungka* ‘by the fire’ and the second infinitive *nyinanjanu* ‘while sitting’ follow the nominal relative clause.

- 11.50 *Kuwarri-ya maiti ma-namal, yangka-ya ya-nku-nja-nu-lu*
 now-3plS might(K) get-FUTIMP DEM-3plS go-IRR-NOMZ-TREL-ERG
kuwarri ya-nu desert
 now go-PST desert
 They might be getting it now, while they are travelling, you know the ones
 who went to the desert today. [SWPMi]
- 11.51 *Yumu-lu-laju nyaku-la junku-ti-ngu kumpupaja wilykartu*
 just-ERG-1plexS see-SER put-ACT-PST bush.tomato lizard
pu-ngku-njan-tu.
 hit-IRR-NOMZ-ERG
 Those of us who had killed the lizard only just glanced at and left some
 bush tomatoes. [KNG]
- 11.52 *An, kaanu yurlta-ngka-ku jiji-lu ngalku-nja-pinti*
 CONJ Dragon lizards in.camp-LOC-DAT child-ERG eat-NOMZ-THING
 And Dragon Lizards, for those in camp, the ones that the children eat [DHN]
- 11.53 *Wana-rnu wanapari puntu-lu waka-rnu ngumpa-ngka ngarri-njan.*
 follow-PST dingo man-ERG spear-PST shade-LOC lie-NOMZ
 The man followed and speared the dingo that was lying in the shade. [NBK3:136]

11.1.3.8 Correlative clauses with *yangka* and *ngula*

Wangkajunga texts have a number of examples of relative clauses introduced with the demonstrative *yangka* and the relative pronoun *-ngula*. The demonstrative *yangka*, and the alternative form *yanga*, are discussed in §5.2.6. These clauses with *yangka* are not subordinate in the same way as the nominalised relative clauses. Goddard (1985:79) labels the same forms in Yankunytjatjara ‘correlatives’.

1. The correlative clause is introduced by *yangka*.
2. The main clause and the *yangka* clause, if it has a verb, have finite verb forms.
3. The *yangka* clause has pronominal clitics which cross-reference the syntactic function of the arguments of the *yangka* clause.
4. The *yangka* clause always follows the nominal it modifies.

The preferred order of the *yangka* clause is following the nominal that it modifies. Unlike relative clauses with nominalisations these relative clauses with *yangka* require pronominal cross-referencing in both clauses. Clauses with *yangka* can modify the Subject argument of the main clause; example 11.54, the Object argument of the main clause; example 11.57, or an adjunct argument of the main clause; example 11.55. In example 11.56 the *yangka* clause modifies the Dative marked argument of a possessive clause. Example 11.57 has two *yangka* clauses both modifiers of the Object *kalaka* ‘honey’.

Correlative clauses formed by *yangka* can consist of a predicate and one or two overt arguments; for example 11.54 and 11.58, a modified nominal and its modifier; for example 11.59 or a single nominal as in example 11.57. These clauses are a common feature of what I have called ‘afterthoughts’ (§12.1.5). As modifiers of afterthoughts the *yangka* clause follows a nominal which is a repetition of an argument, or adjunct, of the main clause, but following the main clause and after a pause. Examples 11.55 and 11.56 are from Afterthoughts. Examples 11.58 and 11.59 are answers to questions. The nominals ‘material’ and soda soap’ are single word answers and the *yangka* clause in each example modifies the answer.

The *yangka* clause can modify both animate and inanimate referents. In the following examples *yangka* refers to honey, *jirntirrjirntirr* a Willy Wagtail bird, *ngurra* a home, and a trailer.

The *yangka* demonstrative can be followed by the suffix *ngula* that makes a further restriction on the reference of the nominal. There are very few examples of this form in the texts. The suffix is illustrated in examples 11.54, repeated from 6.20, and 11.55.

- 11.54 *Jii-jananya parra-wangurra-ti-n-pa ngapi, jirntirr-jirntirr-pa*
 DEM-3plO around-wag-ACT-PRES-PA HES willy.wagtail-RDP-PA
malakati, yanga murrani parra-yana-ma-lanyaju.
 behind DEM always around-go-PSTIMP-1plexO
 That, um, willy wagtail, the one that would always hang around us, is wagging
 about behind them. [SWPN1]
- 11.55 *Yijayi-kurnu-nguru ngurra-nguru yangka-ngula-npula nyina-ma.*
 name-POSS-ABL home-ABL DEM-REL-2dIS stay-PSTIMP
 it’s from Yijayi’s home, the place which you two were staying in. [KNG]
- 11.56 *trailer, ngapi-kura, Michael-ku, yangka-ngula ngaa-ngka*
 trailer HES-POSS Michael-DAT DEM-REL DEM-LOC
roadhouse warrkama-nin-pa.
 roadhouse(E) work(K)-PRES-PA
 The trailer, um, who’s Michael’s, the one who works here in the roadhouse? [KNG]

- 11.57 *Wama-laju wajan-ma kalaka, yangka karluwayi, yangka*
 honey-1plexS say-PSTIMP 'kalaka' DEM honey DEM
warta-ngka-laju yatu-ra nga-lkun-ma
 tree-LOC-1plexS chop-SER eat-IRR-PSTIMP
 We say 'kalaka', you know honey, the stuff we used to chop out and eat. [BRNS]
- 11.58 *Wiya material-pa, yangka warinka-ngun kartiya-kurangu turrirti-nguninji*
 NEG material-PA DEM arrive-PST European-POSS dresses-FOC
palya
 good
 It's not material, the stuff that came for the nice white women's dresses. [FLBD]
- 11.59 *Soda soap you know yangka pawun-in-pa-ya jira yangka*
 caustic.soda soap you know DEM cook-PRES-PA-3plS fat DEM
puluman-janu jira.
 beef-ABL fat
 It was soda soap, the fat they boil, that beef fat. [FLBD]

11.1.3.9 Conditional clauses

Another set of correlative clauses refer to events, processes or states which could happen but haven't actually eventuated or, as in example 11.60, have happened but should not have. The relativiser *yangka* also has a role in these clauses. The clauses in these complex sentences are more like equal clauses than the subordinate clauses previously discussed. The two clauses are related by the condition 'if' which is signalled by *yangka*. These forms are not common in the texts. All but the final example, 11.63, were recorded during conversation by making a written note of the sentence.

In example 11.60 both clauses have finite verbs inflected with the future tense and both have the second person Subject cross-referencing clitic *-n*. Example 11.61 has the verbs of both clauses inflected by the hypothetical complementiser *-mara*. In this example the Subject of the main clause is the third person plural cross-referencing clitic *-ya* and the Subject of the subordinate clause is the Ergative marked poisonous snake *mulyaminyirru*. In example 11.62 the first verb has an Obligative *-ngara* and the subordinate verb has the *-nja* nominaliser followed by the Ablative complementiser *-janu*. This has a different structure to the previous example, as it has an embedded subordinate relative clause that modifies the conditional clause.

These clauses do not always share arguments. In example 11.60 the Subject, second person singular *-n*, is shared by both clauses. Example 11.61 has no shared arguments. Example 11.61 has a shared Object argument. Example 11.63 has a shared third person singular Subject.

The preferred order for these clauses is for the *yangka* clause to occur second although the reverse order was accepted in example 11.60.

- 11.609 *Yangka-n nya-ku pawulma-nku-ju-n.*
 DEM-2sgS see-FUT call.out-FUT-1sgDAT-2sgS
 If you see it, call out to me. [NBK2]
- 11.61 *Pu-ngku-mara-ju-ya ngayu Jukuna yangka pajal-mara*
 hit-IRR-HYP-1sgDAT-3plS 1sg name DEM bite-HYP

mulyaminyirr-ju.

snake-ERG

They would have belted me if the snake had bitten Jukuna. [NBK3:28]

- 11.62 *Nya-ku-ngara-rni-n wirta-lu-rni paja-nja-janu limi-kurlu.*
see-IRR-OBLIG-1sgO-2sgS dog-ERG-1sgO bite-NOMZ-TREL wound-HAV

You would have seen me with a wound after the dogs had bitten me. [NBK3]

Example 11.63 also has the Obligative complementiser. The event depicted by the finite verb of the main clause has happened as indicated by the past tense marking of *pakarnu* ‘get up’. However I have included it under the heading ‘conditional’ as the meaning expressed is that it happened but shouldn’t have. The predicate of the *yangka* clause has the future stem and Obligative complementiser.

- 11.63 *Wiya jilanya paka-rnu yunka-nja-pinti yuti-lu yangka-pa*
NEG like.that get.up-PST shoot-NOMZ-INSTR visible-ERG DEM-PA

mutika-nguru yungkal-ngara.

vehicle-ABL shoot-OBLIG

If he hadn’t got out with the gun like that, in the open, he might have shot it from the vehicle. [KNG]

11.1.4 Avoidance subordinate clauses

The action of the Avoidance subordinate clause has the potential to follow the action of the main clause but is avoided. The Avoidance clause describes a situation that could have harmful or unwanted consequences. The complementiser consists of the locative case marker *-ngka* plus the form *-marra*. I have glossed them together as AVOID. The Avoidance complementiser is the same as the Avoidance case (§4.5.6). As there are few examples of the Avoidance subordinate clause in the texts, the following examples are elicited. Example 11.67 was noted during conversation.

The examples illustrate that the Avoidance complementiser follows the irrealis suffix on the infinitival verb when the Subject of the main clause is the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause. This is illustrated in examples 11.68, 11.69 and 11.70 (11.65 and 11.66 are repeated from 10.143 and 10.144). When the Subject of the main clause is different from the Subject of the infinitival clause the Avoidance complementiser must follow the *-jaku* different Subject suffix. The consultant rejected my prepared example 11.65 that has a different Subject in the main clause from the infinitival clause. This example is marked unacceptable. Example 11.66 is the consultants’ correction of my example and the infinitival clause has the *-jaku* different Subject suffix before the Avoidance suffix. Example 11.67 is the consultants’ preferred example due to semantics rather than syntax.

The arguments of Avoidance clauses with different Subject can be cross-referenced by bound pronouns. This is shown in the corrected example 11.66. that has the Object argument of the infinitival clause cross-referenced by the first person Object bound pronoun *-rni*.

All the examples have the main clause before the infinitival clause. In examples 11.64, 11.65 and 11.66 the infinitival clause follows the nominal denoting the thing to be avoided.

- 11.64 *Wiya parnaparnti paka-rnu ya-un tuju-lu nya-ku-jaku-ngkamarra.*
 NEG sand.goanna get.up-PST go-PST woman-ERG see-IRR-DS-AVOID
 The sand goanna didn't take off because the woman might have seen it.
 [NBK3:133]
- 11.65 **Yan-in-pa-rna kayili-kutu wirta-lu-rni pakal-ku-ngkamarra.*
 go-PRES-PA-1sgS north-ALL dog-ERG-1sgO see-IRR-AVOID
 *I'm going to the north so that the dogs don't get up. [NBK3:133]
- 11.66 *Yan-in-pa-rna kayili-kutu wirta-lu-rni nya-ku-jaku-ngkamarra.*
 go-PRES-PA-1sgS north-ALL dog-ERG-1sgO see-IRR-DS-AVOID
 I'm going to the north so that the dogs don't see me. [NBK3:133]
- 11.67 *Yan-in-pa-rna kayili-kutu wirta-lu-rni pajal-jaku.*
 go-PRES-PA-1sgS north-ALL dogs-ERG-1sgO bite-DS
 I'm going towards the north because the dogs will bite me. [NBK3:133]
- The Avoidance complementiser also occurs on nominals. This use of the suffix is commonly heard in conversations. Examples 11.68, 11.69 and 11.70 illustrate this use. Example 11.69 shows that the same Subject form can still be used with reflexive clauses.
- 11.68 *Nyin-in-pa-rna ngumpa-ngka, jirntu-ngka-marra.*
 sit-PRES-PA-1sgS shade-LOC sun-LOC-AVOID
 I'm sitting in the shade to avoid the sun.
- 11.69 *Nyitinin-pa-rna-ju cream-kurlu-lu jirntu-ngkamarra.*
 rub-PRES-PA-1sgS-1sgREFL cream-HAV-ERG sun-AVOID
 I'm rubbing myself with cream to avoid the sun. [NBK3]
- 11.70 *Parra-ya-nin-pa-rna kanaji-ngkamarra*
 around-go-PRES-PA-1sgS snake-AVOID
 I'm going right around in case of snakes. [NBK3]

11.2 Co-ordination

Co-ordinated sentences in Wangkajunga consist of two clauses of equal grammatical status joined by a sentence connective. The predicates of co-ordinated clauses have the same form as predicates in main clauses and there is no relationship of dependence between the two clauses. Three sentence connecting forms are found in the texts; *ka*, *an* and *kamu*. The form *an* is borrowed from Kriol (§1.5).

The co-ordinator *kamu* commonly joins nominals but can also join clauses which share Subjects. The coordinators *ka* and *an* can join clauses which do not share Subjects as well as those that do share Subjects. Goddard (1985:134) reports that Austin's survey of switch-reference in Australia indicated that the Western Desert group of languages was the only group with this switch-reference of coordinating clauses. This switch-reference feature is not so important in Wangkajunga as, unlike the southern languages of the Western Desert, it has compulsory cross-referencing bound pronouns that identify the grammatical functions of referents. These bound pronouns are compulsory in co-ordinated sentences.

11.2.1 The conjunction *kamu*

The conjunction *kamu* can unite nominals in a nominal constituent, unite nominal constituents and occasionally join clauses with the same Subject.

The most common use of *kamu* is to unite single nominals and add items to lists. In a text about a trip to the Canning stock route *kamu* was used once. By comparison it occurred nine times in a text about the traditional life in the desert that describes the traditional foods. The foods were listed using *kamu*. Examples 11.71 and 11.72 illustrate the function of *kamu* in lists. The conjunction *kamu* typically follows the entity being added and can occur without a pause between the entity nominal and *kamu*.

The use of *kamu* adds an emphasis to the items being specified. In the first example the speaker is itemising the traditional foods that she ate in the desert. As the animals are native to the desert and now threatened by introduced species the speaker is understandably sentimental about them, particularly as she now resides a long way from their habitat. This is contrasted in the third example, where the items are listed without the conjunction *kamu*. Here the speaker makes the point that there were plenty of animals to eat rather than emphasising the individual animals. In addition, the speaker has less attachment to the introduced animals in the list.

- 11.71 *Kuka-nga jii-nga-laju bushmana-nga punga-ma nyinkurlu kamu,*
 game-FOC DEM-FOC-1plexS traditional-FOC hit-PSTHB lizard CONJ
mala kamu, mingajurru kamu, minyuparnta kamu,
 Rufous.hare.wallaby CONJ bandicoot CONJ bettong CONJ
jarluli kamu
 blue-tongue.lizard CONJ
 That's the traditional food we hunted, lizards, hare wallabies, bandicoots,
 bettongs and blue-tongue lizards. [DHN]
- 11.72 *Ngaa-lu wana-ra waka-rnu pujikatu kamu jalapa kamu.*
 DEM-ERG follow-SER spear-PST cat CONJ lizard CONJ
 This one followed and speared a cat and a lizard. [DM1]
- 11.73 *Palunyajanu-lu, wanapari, minyawu, ngalyangamuka, waltaki,*
 after.that-ERG dingo cat cat fox
pu-ngku-la-lanyaju-ya yunga-ma.
 hit-IRR-SER-1plexO-3plS give-PSTIMP
 After that, they would kill dingos, cats, and foxes for us. [DHN1]

The *kamu* conjunction is also common as a conjunction between nominals. In each of the following examples 11.74 to 11.76, the conjoined nominals occur before the bound pronouns (see §10.1 about nominal constituents). Example 11.75 is repeated from 9.45 and example 11.76 from 10.113. In this use *kamu* occurs between the two nominals to be joined rather than following the first nominal.

- 11.74 *Tuju kamu puntu nyupa-rarra-pula ngaa-ngka nyin-in-pa.*
 woman CONJ man spouse-PAIR-3dlS DEM-LOC sit-PRES-PA
 A husband and wife are here. [CLTLS]
- 11.75 *Ngayu-kurnu-lu yipi-lu kamu mama-lu-pula-jananya jii-n-pa*
 1sg-POSS-ERG mother-ERG CONJ father-ERG-3dlS-3plO DEM-PL-PA

punga-ma yunga-ma.
hit-PSTIMP give-PSTIMP
My mother and father killed that for us. [DHN1]

- 11.76 *Kanaji-kujarra kamu turru-ya jumu kinti nyin-in-pa.*
snake-DUAL CONJ bird-3plS waterhole close sit-PRES-PA
Two snakes and a bird are near a waterhole. [CLTLS]

The texts also contain a very small number of examples of the conjunction *kamu* joining clauses. In example 11.77 the Subjects of both clauses are the same as indicated by the cross-referencing third person plural Subject clitic *-ya*. The conjunction *kamu* occurs after the first nominal of the second clause.

- 11.77 *Wituka-ya paka-la-ya wartil-kujupa marlu kamu-ya*
again-3plS get.up-PSTHB-3plS hunting-ANOTH kangaroo CONJ-3plS
waka-la wungku-ngka ngarri-nja-nu.
spear-PSTHB windbreak-LOC lie-NOMZ-TREL
They'd get up for another hunt and they would spear a kangaroo while it was lying in a windbreak. [DHN]

Goddard (1985:134) mentions the close connection between serial verbs and conjoined sentences. The following example has only one cross-referencing clitic and two verbs that are attested as members of serial verb constructions. In this example *kamu* could be joining the nominals *wartakurlu* and *kurlatakurlulu* rather than the two clauses containing the predicates *wanala* and *wakala*.

- 11.78 *Wana-la-ya warta-kurlu kurlata-kurlu-lu kamu waka-la*
follow-PSTHB-3plS stick-HAV spear-HAV-ERG CONJ spear-PSTHB
jii ngapi, panganu
DEM HES goanna
They would follow with a stick and a spear and they would spear that big goanna. [DHM]

11.2.2 The conjunction *ka*

The conjunction *ka* joins clauses of equal status. The clauses can be same Subject clauses or different Subject clauses. The following examples illustrate clauses of equal status with same Subjects joined by *ka*. In the first example, 11.79, repeated from 6.4, both clauses have the first person plural exclusive clitics *-laju* cross-referencing the Subject. The second example has a third person singular Subject in both clauses. These have zero marking. In the third example 11.81, repeated from 2.34, three clauses are joined by *ka*. The first two have a third person singular Subject 'he' marked by zero but the third has a different Subject. In this clause the Subject is 'they' cross-referenced by the third person plural cross-referencing clitic *-ya*. However the third person singular of the first clause is likely to be included in the third person plural of the third clause.

- 11.79 *Wana-la-laju yirrpi-la ka-laju kantu-la jina-lu*
follow-NARPST-1plexS insert-NARPST CONJ-1plexS stamp-NARPST foot-ERG
We would follow it and poke at it and we would stamp [on the nest] with our feet. [DHN]

- 11.80 *Wilja ju-rra-rni, ju-rra ya-rra ka ya-rra wartilpa*
 shade put-PSTHB-1sgO put-PSTHB go-PSTHB CONJ go-PSTHB hunting
kuka-kutu.
 game-ALL
 She would put me in the shade, leave and go hunting for game. [BRNS]
- 11.81 *Wana-rnu kayili parra-malaku-rnu ka wana-rnu yirrpi-rnu*
 follow-PST north around-return-PST CONJ follow-PST enter-PST
palunya-kurnu-ngka, kartalja, ka jawa-rnu pu-ngu-ya.
 DEM-POSS-LOC hole-LOC CONJ dig-PST hit-PST-3plS
 He followed it north and then turned back and then chased it into its own hole and
 then they dug it up and killed it. [KNG]

The conjunction *ka* is also used to join clauses with different Subjects. This is indicated in example, 11.82 where the first clause has the first person exclusive plural cross-referencing clitic *-laju* and the second has the third person plural clitic *-ya*.

- 11.82 *Yurlta-laju nyina-ma ka ngalpu-rri-ma-ya tali-wana.*
 in.camp-1plexS stay-PSTIMP CONJ play-INCH-PSTIMP-3plS sandhill-PERL
 We would be staying in camp and they would be playing along the sandhills.
 [DHN1]

11.2.3 The conjunction *an*

The texts also have examples of another conjunction introduced to Wangkajunga from the relatively new contact language Kriol (§1.5). This conjunction is *an*. It joins clauses of same and different Subjects and nominals within clauses but as example 11.84 indicates it also joins nominals in a list. However the primary function of this conjunction is to make connections within discourse. This is indicated in example 11.83 which has both *kamu* and *an*. Example 11.83 shows that *an* is used to join clauses when the speaker switches languages from Wangkajunga to English. Examples 11.84 and 11.85 show that *an* is also used in Wangkajunga only utterances.

- 11.83 *Munta-rnu-pula kanyi-nu yunguny paka-rnu puntu-lu*
 take.away.from-PST-3dIS have-PST morning get.up-PST man-ERG
kujarra, nyupa, an my brother too.
 two spouse CONJ my brother too(E)
 The two men took her off the next morning, for a wife, and my little brother as well. [DHN]

Examples 11.84 and 11.845 illustrate the use of the conjunction *an* to add an additional nominal.

- 11.84 *An kaanu yurlta-ngka-ku jiji-lu nga-lku-nja-pinti an kilu*
 CONJ lizard in.camp-LOC-DAT child-ERG eat-IRR-NOMZ-INSTR CONJ mouse
kamu-pula, an minyuparnta,
 CONJ-3dIS CONJ bettong
 And lizards for those staying at the camp, the ones the kids eat, and mice and bettongs, [DHN]

- 11.85 *Nyina-laju-jananya nya-wa kuka-kurlu, miti-kurlu, mala*
 stay-1plexS-3plO see-NARPST game-HAV cooked-HAV Rufous.hare.wallaby
kamu kuka mala an ngapi winkuma
 CONJ game Rufous.hare.wallaby CONJ HES possum
 We would sit around and look out for them with the cooked food, hare wallaby,
 and hare wallaby and uh, possum. [DHN1]

Examples 11.86 illustrates the use of the conjunction *an* to add items to a list.

- 11.86 *an jalirr-pa an puura an purliwarurtu an*
 CONJ bush.onion-PA CONJ bush.tomato CONJ bush.tomato CONJ
puura laltu an jarrawanpa
 bush.tomato lots CONJ edible.root
 and bush onions, and bush tomatoes and another type of bush tomato, and lots of
 different bush tomatoes, and edible roots, [DHN]

Examples 11.87 and 11.88 illustrate the use of the conjunction *an* to introduce a sentence or a clause in discourse.

- 11.87 *Yawurta-ya rideim-mana-ma jiji-lu an ngala-ngu-laju*
 horse-3plS ride(K)-CAUS-PSTIMP child-ERG CONJ eat-PST-1plexS
jii kuka Kilangkilang-ja.
 DEM game place.name-LOC
 Kids used to be riding horses, and we ate that meat at Kilangkilang. [DHN]
- 11.88 *Ngana-kujarra maarra jii-ngka, ngurrpa-rri-ngu-rna an*
 what-two unknown DEM-LOC ignorant-INCH-PST-1sgS CONJ
nyina-laju kakarra,
 stay-1plexS east
 Who were those two strangers there? I've forgotten, and then we stayed
 in the east, [DHN]

11.2.4 The *palunya* discourse connective

Another set of discourse connectives are composed of the pronominal *palunya* plus case marking suffixes. Glass and Hackett (1970:50) say in their Pitjantjatjara Grammar² that this conjunction is used to connect clauses having the same Subject. In Wangkajunga the use of these forms is very common as a means to connect different parts of a narrative. The quite diverse topics of the two joined clauses in the examples below suggest that *palunyajanu* operates at a discourse level rather than a clause level in Wangkajunga. I have discussed these forms in §10.6.4.

² In this work (1970) Glass and Hackett use the term Pitjantjatjara as a macro term to cover more than one variety of the southern Western Desert language. In subsequent work on the same variety they use the language name Ngaanyatjarra. The use of *palunya* as a discourse marker is not found in the Pitjantjatjara language spoken in and around Ernabella as described by Bowe (1990) and Eckert and Hudson (1988).

11.2.4.1 *palunyajanu, palunyajanulu* ‘and after that’

If the Subject of the clause has Ergative marking *palunyajanulu* will be used but if the Subject is Absolutive *palunyajanu* will be used.

- 11.89 *An, palunyajanu ya-rra-laju ngaa-nga munuka-munuka warrpa.*
 CONJ after.that go-PSTHB-1plexS DEM-FOC different-RDP nectar
 And after that we would go for a rather different nectar. [DHN]
- 11.90 *Palunyajanu-lu wanapari, minyawu ngalyangamuka, waltaki*
 after.that-ERG dingo cat cat fox
pu-ngku-la-lanyaju-ya nga-lkun-ma
 hit-IRR-SER-1plexO-3pls eat-IRR-PSTHB
 After that they would kill dingoes, cats and foxes for us to eat. [DHN]

11.3 *-nja* Subordinate clauses in the Western Desert and four non-Western Desert languages

The *-nja* nominaliser suffix is extremely widespread. It occurs in some types of subordinate clauses in the northern and southern languages of the Western Desert. There is no data for the negative occurrence of the form in Yulparija. This form of the nominaliser is also found in some types of subordinate clauses in Warlpiri. In the non-Western Desert language Nyangumarta the nominalisers have similar forms beginning with alveolar nasals and lamino-palatal nasals. The form of the nominalising suffix is quite different in both Walmajarri and Jaru. In these languages it is *-u*.

The northern Western Desert languages differ from the southern Western Desert languages in not forming all subordinate clause predicates with the same nominalisations. The form of infinitives in subordinate clauses is an area that needs further investigation for this group of languages.

Table 11.3: Subordinate clause forms in Western Desert languages and four non-Western Desert neighbours

Language	Subordinate clause
non-Western Desert	
Warlpiri	nominaliser <i>nja</i> , <i>rninja</i> plus suffix
Jaru	particle <i>kuwa/kuja</i> , verb plus Purposive verb plus <i>u</i> plus suffix
Walmajarri	nominaliser <i>u</i> plus suffix
Nyangumarta	nominaliser <i>na</i> , <i>nya</i> , <i>ninya</i> plus suffix
Northern Western Desert	
Yulparija	irrealis <i>ra</i> plus suffix, no further data
Wangkajunga	verb plus suffix, unrealised <i>ra</i> plus suffix, nominaliser <i>nja</i> plus suffix
Kukatja	nominaliser <i>nja</i> for some types of subordination, no further data
Manyjilyjarra	nominaliser <i>nja</i> , <i>ra</i> , <i>raku</i> , <i>kija</i> plus suffix
Pintupi	nominaliser <i>nja</i> plus suffix

Southern Western Desert	
Ngaanyatjarra	nominaliser <i>ja</i> , <i>payi</i> plus suffix
Pitjantjatjara	nominaliser <i>nja</i> , <i>nya</i> plus suffix
Yankunytjatjara	nominaliser <i>nja</i> , <i>payi</i> plus suffix
Gugada	nominaliser <i>nja</i> , <i>rnta</i> , plus suffix

12 *Information structure*

Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of information in Wankajunga sentences. The structures described here are more dependent on context for their meaning than those discussed in previous chapters. The chapter begins with a discussion of the function of word order in the language and the various contexts that influence the order of words in a clause. In this section I also discuss the common use of ‘afterthoughts’ in Wankajunga discourse. The chapter also includes a discussion of questions (§12.2), negation (§12.3) and direct and indirect speech (§12.4).

12.1 Word order

A fundamental assumption underlying much current work in syntactic typology is that all languages have some basic, syntactically defined, constituent order. It is generally recognised that this order may be altered somewhat for pragmatic purposes, but the basic order is considered a primary characteristic, from which other features of the language can be predicted. It is questionable, however whether all languages actually have such a basic order. (Mithun 1987:281)

In this section I investigate the order of constituents in Wankajunga clauses. Although Wankajunga has the grammatical relations Subject and Object (§10.5.1 and §10.5.2) it is clear that these are not the basis for word order in the language. The language has comprehensive case marking and a complex system of cross-referencing and makes no apparent use of syntactic ordering of grammatical functions. In this respect it falls within the languages categorised by Hale (1983) as ‘free word order’ or ‘non-configurational languages’. The order of constituents is dictated by pragmatic function rather than grammatical function. There are two major problems in an analysis of a basic word order in a language such as Wankajunga. The first is that it is difficult to identify pragmatically unmarked clauses and the second is that clauses with overt arguments are found in pragmatically marked contexts.

I begin this section with an attempt to identify pragmatically unmarked clauses and to discuss the order of constituents in these clauses. I do this in two ways. Firstly I discuss the word order of a small text that appears to have minimal pragmatic function and secondly I discuss the least pragmatically marked clauses from a number of texts. In the second part of this section I discuss the pragmatic functions that order the constituents of clauses in Wankajunga. This is subdivided into new and old information, beginning words, answers to questions and politeness.

Some members of the class of particles and other words such as interrogatives and sentence modifiers always occur word initially. These words are discussed in other sections of the grammar, interrogatives in §12.2, sentence modifiers and particles in §10.6.

12.1.1 Order of constituents in a pragmatically unmarked text

In the corpus of Wangkajunga texts there is a small dictated text that is a collection of labels for works of art by Wangkajunga adults. These particular works of art are in clay and sand on paper and they represent single figures rather than detailed patterns representing complex ideas and forms. The artists were asked to make short statements about the artwork that would add to its commercial value. This text is therefore a collection of short statements composed of one or two utterances and has about three statements from each artist. I have analysed 24 clauses from the text. In choosing the 24 I have eliminated the ones where the artwork appears to have influenced the order. This type is illustrated by the two clauses in example 12.1. The types of clauses I have chosen as least pragmatically marked are illustrated by examples 12.2 and 12.3. These are all verb-headed clauses.

- 12.1 *Ngaa ngarlukurtu kamu lungkun. Nyukurni-laju-jananya*
 DEM bush.coconut CONJ wattle.tree.seeds before-1plexS-3plO
yungka-ma.
 grind-PSTIMP
 These are bush coconuts and wattle tree seeds. We used to grind them in the old days. [CLTLS]
- 12.2 *Wana-rnu-rna parnaparnti jina tali-wana.*
 follow-PST-1sgS goanna track sandhill-PERL
 I followed a goanna's track across the sandhill. [CLTLS]
- 12.3 *Tuju-lu-ya jurnta-ku jawan-in-pa*
 woman-ERG-3plS bush.onion-DAT dig-PRES-PA
 The women are digging for bush onions. [CLTLS]

Table 12.1: Order of constituents in a pragmatically unmarked text

Clauses with overt Subject arguments		Clauses without overt Subject arguments	
S V	4	V DAT	1
S V DAT	1	V LOC	1
S DAT V	3	V O x 2	2
S O V	1	V O LOC	1
S Active Nom. V O	1	V O INSTR	1
S Active Nom. V LOC	1	V Active Nom.	1
S LOC V DAT	1		
S LOC V	3		
S LOC V LOC	2		

Table 12.1 shows the order of constituents in the 24 clauses. This does not include the position of the bound pronouns (§10.1.1). In clauses with an overt Subject argument this nominal occurred first. In clauses without an overt Subject argument the verb occurred first. Active nominals modifying a Subject nominal (Active Nom. in the table) tended to follow the nominal they modified. Locative nominals (LOC in the table) also tended to follow the nominal they modified. Dative arguments (DAT in the table) occurred both before and after the verb. Two examples contained nominals with complementisers (§11.1) and both of these occurred after the main clause.

12.1.2 Order of constituents in pragmatically unmarked clauses from a number of texts

The following chart gives an idea of the tendencies of the order of verbal predicates and overt Subject and Object arguments in Wangkajunga main clauses in a number of different texts. These orders are from 100 clauses with verbs that select Ergative Subjects and Absolutive Objects and also verbs taking Absolutive Subjects. In an attempt to find clauses less pragmatically marked the following were excluded:

- clauses beginning narratives
- negatively marked clauses
- questions
- clauses with morphologically marked focus.

In this language and in many of the world’s languages, it is difficult to find pragmatically unmarked clauses with more than one overt nominal argument.

the overt co-occurrence of both Subject and Object in a given clause is rarely the case in natural oral discourse. Rather, whenever two noun phrases occur, something is likely to be marked relative to the discourse or pragmatic situation. (Payne 1990:24)

The numbers set out in Table 12.2 show that the order of the constituents Subject, Object and verb in most Wangkajunga clauses is free. They also show that most clauses occur without two overt arguments and many are composed of the verb and the bound pronouns cross-referencing the arguments.

Table 12.2: Order of constituents in 100 less pragmatically marked Wangkajunga main clauses

Number of clauses	Order
23	VO
20	OV
11	SV
46	V (no overt S or O)

12.1.3 Word order in other Western Desert languages

12.1.3.1 Yulparija

Burridge (1996) describes Yulparija as having considerably free word order. She suggests that an analysis of discourse structure would probably reveal word order preferences according to thematic organisation.

12.1.3.2 Ngaanyatjarra

In the Ngaanyatjarra language any order of words may occur.

Although it may be said that an order of subject, object predicate is preferred, it is not all that rigid, and any order of words may occur (Glass and Hackett:1970:71).

12.1.3.3 Pitjantjatjara

Bowe (1990:119) suggests that the order Subject Object Verb (SOV) is statistically the most frequent for Pitjantjatjara. Bowe made a detailed analysis of narratives and examined the relative order of occurrence in the clause of the constituents Subject, Object and Verb. She found that in clauses with both Subject and Object noun phrases the Subject will occur first.

12.1.3.4 Yankunytjatjara

Goddard (1985:20) describes Yankunytjatjara as having a strict ordering of constituents within phrases but as having any possible order for phrasal units within clauses. In verb-headed clauses with overt nominals for both Subject and Object the common ordering is for Subject to occur first and the Object and then Verb to follow. Alternative orders commonly reflect speakers' focus of interest.

McConvell (1996) has a comprehensive discussion of the pragmatic function of split-Wackernagel clitic systems in Ngumpin languages.

12.1.4 Pragmatically ordered constituents and zero arguments

Pragmatic function rather than syntactic function also determines the occurrence of overt arguments in clauses. Generally the overt noun phrases are used to introduce new participants. As this aspect of pragmatic function is not independent of the pragmatic ordering of constituents the two functions are discussed below. The pragmatic ordering of new indefinite information before old information, certain adverbs of manner at the beginning of requests, contrasts and answers to questions are discussed in this section.

12.1.4.1 Zero anaphora

Table 12.2 above indicates that in Wangkajunga discourse participants are commonly referred to by a process of zero anaphora. Arguments that have been referred to previously are not represented by overt nominals. The arguments are referred to by zero and information about the argument is given in the cross-referencing system. It could be argued that this is not strictly zero anaphora because the bound pronouns refer to the participants. However I have used the term zero anaphora in this sense.

Speakers use the contrast of overt arguments and zero anaphora to structure information in discourse. Information that has already been given and presumed to be known by the hearer can be referred to by zero.

Zero anaphora of Subject

In example 12.4 *puntu jiji* ‘Aboriginal children’ are introduced in the first clause by overt arguments. The demonstrative *ngaa* ‘these’ is the Subject of the clause and occurs first in the clause. The demonstrative *ngaa* ‘these’ is marked by the suffix *nga* that gives the Subject and its referent, the children, prominence. In the following clauses the Aboriginal children are crossreferenced by the third person plural Subject bound pronoun *-ya* rather than by the nominals. The hearer knows the identity of the participants and further use of overt nominals is not necessary. In clauses 2 to 4 of this example the children’s sliding and jumping activities are given prominence. The cross-referencing bound pronoun *-ya* connects the sentences over the discourse.

- 12.4 1. *Ngaa-nga-ya ngarri-n-pa puntu jiji.*
DEM-FOC-3plS lie-PRES-PA Aboriginal child
2. *Ngarlpu-rri-n-pa-ya turruruyan-in-pa kanin-jarra jii-ngka*
play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS slide-PRES-PA down-ASST DEM-LOC
- tali-ngka pilyurpilyurr-ja.* 3. *Wituka-jarra wantiti-ma,*
sandhill-LOC slope-LOC also-ASST jump-ACT
- wantiti-ma-ya.* 4. *Wirrja-ya wantijalkin-ma yawurta yangka*
jump-ACT-3plS run-3plS jump.over-PSTIMP horse DEM
- wirrjala-ngula wantitijalki-la warta-kutu-wana*
run-REL jump.over-PSTHB stick-ALL-PERL
- These are Aboriginal children. They are playing at sliding down the steep slope of that sandhill. Also jumping, they’re jumping. They’re running and jumping over, the way horses run and jump over, hurdles. [SWPN]

Zero anaphora of Subject and Object

In example 12.5 the participants are introduced in the first clause and then both Subject and Object are referred to by zero. The participants are third person singular so the bound pronouns for both are realised by zero. The only grammatical reference to the participants is in clause 4 where the Dative argument of *watijunu* ‘tracked’ is crossreferenced by the third person plural Dative bound pronoun *-ra*. Once introduced the participants need not be referred to by overt nominals and the series of clauses consist of verbs of following and tracking. The length of the search and its lack of success are more important in these clauses (2, 3, 4 and 5) than the reference to the participants.

- 12.5 1. *Watiju-nu mingajurru tuju-lu.*
track-PST bandicoot woman-ERG
2. *Wana-rnu, wana-rnu, wana-rnu, wana-rnu.*
follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST

3. *Parra-purtu, watiju-nu karrartan-pu-ngu.*
around-in.vain track-PST fright-hit-PST
4. *Munkarra-ra purtu-watiju-rnu.*
distant-3sgDAT in.vain-track-PST
5. *Ngaa-ngka jarrpa-ngu.*
DEM-LOC enter-PST
6. *An kantu-rnu kantu-rnu.*
CONJ stamp-PST stamp-PST

A woman followed the tracks of a bandicoot. She followed it for a very long way. She went all over the place, tracking without success and it made her nervous. She tracked for it further on but in vain. Here's where it went in. Then she stomped and stomped [on the nest]. [SWPN]

12.1.4.2 Pragmatic ordering of constituents

The ordering of participants in Wangkajunga clauses is conditioned by a number of pragmatic functions.

McConvell's (1996) article focuses on the discourse pragmatic function of the bound pronouns in the Ngumpin languages. He suggests that second position cliticization has become a marked type of cliticization that is conditioned by grammatical factors related to topic and focus.

In this section I discuss some of the various orderings of Wangkajunga arguments that are conditioned by pragmatic function.

12.1.4.3 New and old information

Wangkajunga clauses are ordered so that what is new information to the discourse appears first. In the following excerpt from a narrative about a journey clause 1 is about their evening meal and then clause 3 introduces new information about who took them on the trip. Clause 1 begins with the verb *ngalangu* 'eat' and clause 2 begins a theme or Object argument with the reference to the new information about what was eaten. Clause 3 begins with the Subject argument referring to the new information, *kujarra kartiyatu*, 'two Europeans' the people who took them. In example 12.7 it is the Object argument *puluman* 'cattle' that occurs first. This is the first mention of the spearing of cattle in the story. Example 12.8 is new information about the activity of scraping out the seeds of a bush tomato. In this example the verb occurs first. The speaker introduced the bush tomato in English and then began the description of the process of discarding the black seeds of the tomato with the verb.

Subject first, Object first

- 12.6 1. *Ngala-ngu-laju pawu-rnu* 2. *ka japa jupjup*
eat-PST-1plexS cook-PST CONJ dinner stew

palunya-lanyaju-ya yu-ngu. 3. *Kujarra-lanyaju-pula*
 DEM-1plexO-3plS give -PST two-1plexO-3dlS

kartiya-tu kati-ngu, 4. *Barry, Barry-lu ngapi-lu Michael*
 European-ERG take-PST name name-ERG HES-ERG name
 We cooked and ate and dinner, stew, that's what they gave us. Two of them,
 Europeans, took us, Barry, Barry and Michael. [KNG]

Object First

12.7 *Puluman-pa-laju yungka-la waka-rnu ngala-ngu.*
 bullock-PA-1plexS hit.with.missile-SER spear-PST eat-PST

We would hit and spear a bullock and eat it. [DHN]

Verb First

12.8 *Kurtun-ma-laju warta-kurlu-lu ngaa-kurlu-lu*
 scrape.out-PSTHB stick-HAV-ERG DEM-HAV-ERG
 We would scrape it out with this stick. [SWPMi]

12.1.4.4 Important information first

The next examples illustrate that it is also important information that occurs first in Wangkajunga clauses. In a narrative about a long trip to the desert the direction of travel and the distance travelled are important. In example 12.9 the verb occurs first and the final vowel of the first person plural Subject bound pronoun is lengthened to emphasise the distance travelled. In the Kaningara narrative, example 12.10, about a long trip to a waterhole in the desert many of the clauses begin with the verb *yanu* 'went' as the distance travelled is important. Clause 1 has the direction *kayili* 'north' first but when they lose the track the clauses begin with the failed attempts to locate it. Clause 2 begins with the particle *purtu* 'in vain'. This is important information because the travellers had difficulty finding the road but particles like *purtu* typically occur clause initially (§10.6.7). In clause 3 the search for the road is very important and the speaker repeats the verb *yanu* five times to emphasise the long distance they travelled while searching. Clause 4 reiterates the difficulty they had finding the road and begins with the particle.

Verb First

12.9 *Ya-nu-lajuuuuuu*
 go-PST-1plexS
 We went on and on. [KNG]

Direction first, Particle First

12.10 1. *Kayili-laju ya-nu.* 2. *Purtu-laju-ra, jina*
 north-1plexS go-PST in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT track
watiju-nku-ti-ngu, 3. *road-ku-laju-ra ya-nu(x5)*
 track-IRR-ACT-PST road-DAT-1plexS-3sgDAT go-PST

4. *Purtu-laju-ra jina-ku watiju-nu road-ku mutika-ku*
 in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT track-DAT track-PST road-DAT vehicle-DAT
 1. We went north. 2. We couldn't find the road. 3. We went on for the road for a
 long way. 4. We couldn't find the vehicle track. [KNG]

Example 12.11 is also about the long trip to Kaningara waterhole. Another important event during their trip was the break down of their trailer. In example 12.11 the distance travelled still occurs first but the trailer occurs second and has a Dative bound pronoun attached to it. In example 12.12 the location of the breakdown of the trailer occurs first.

Verb First

- 12.11 *Ya-nu-lajuuuuuu, trailer-lampaju ngartalya-nu kutu-ngka tali-ngka,*
 go-PST-1plexS trailer-1plexDAT break-PST middle-LOC sandhill-LOC
 We went on a long way and the trailer broke on us in the middle of a sandhill.
 [KNG]

Location First

- 12.12 *Jii-ngka-ngulyu-lampaju trailer ngartalya-nu.*
 DEM-LOC-CERT-1plexDAT trailer break-PST
 That's exactly where our trailer broke. [KNG]

12.1.4.5 Topic shift

Some participants that are not new information also occur first in the clause. In example 12.13, *kaanu* 'lizard' is introduced at the end of clause 2, when the hunting activity is more prominent than the thing hunted. In clause 3 *kaanu* is at the beginning. This signals the next topic, the types of foods the speaker had in the desert.

- 12.13 1. *Ngayu-n-pa-laju pu-ngku-la nga-lkun-ma nyunma-ngka.*
 1sg-PL-PA-1plexS hit-IRR-SER eat-PSTIMP burnt.area-LOC
 2. *Pu-wa-laju, yujunpu-wa ngalanga-la nyina-ma, hunting,*
 hit-NARPST-1plexS roast-NARPST eat-NARPST sit-PSTHB hunting
kaanu, kuka kaanu lizard. 3. *An, kaanu kamu, ngiyari*
 lizard game lizard lizard CONJ lizard CONJ mountain.devil
kamu-laju punga-ma yurlta-ngka-laju pu-ngku-la ngalkun-ma.
 CONJ-1plexS hit-PSTIMP in.camp-LOC-1plexS hit-IRR-SER eat-PSTIMP
 We used to kill and eat small lizards, those lizards that live in the burnt area
 around the camp. We would kill, roast, eat and then rest, hunting those small
 lizards. We used to kill and eat small lizards and mountain devils around the
 camp. [DHN]

Example 12.14 also illustrates a shift of topic. This follows example 12.12 in the narrative about the trip to Kaningara. The trailer has already been introduced but occurs at the beginning of this clause. It introduces the topic of the trailer's owner and a description of him follows. As he is known by his workplace this is included in the description.

- 12.14 *Trailer, ngapi-kura Michael-ku, yangka-ngula-wu ngaa-ngka*
 trailer HES-POSS name-DAT DEM-REL-EMPH DEM-LOC
roadhouse-ngutu, ngapi-ngka warrkam-ma-nin-pa. Petrol-pa yu-gin-pa.
 roadhouse-ABL HES-LOC work-CAUS-PRES-PA petrol-PA give-PRES
Diesel-pa yung-in-pa nyarra.
 diesel-PA give-PRES-PA DEM
 The trailer is Michael's, you know the one that um, works here at the roadhouse.
 He gives diesel, that one selling diesel. [KNG]

12.1.4.6 Contrast

A contrast in meaning between two clauses will also determine the word order of Wangkajunga clauses. Example 12.15 contrasts the words used by two different language groups for a bush fruit. In clause 1 the Object of the verb *wajanin* 'say' occurs first. This is *kuwarrpa* 'bush fruit'. The Subject *Walmajarri* 'Walmajarri people' which has Ergative case occurs last. In the second clause a pronoun referring to the contrasting language group occurs first.

- 12.15 1. *Kuwarr-pa wajan-in Walmajarri-lu*
 'kuwarr'-PA say-PRES language.group-ERG
 2. *ngayu-n-ju-laju waja-nin kalayan.*
 1sg-PL-ERG-1plexS say-PRES 'kalayan'
 Walmajarri people say *kuwarr* but we say *kalayan*. [BRNS]

12.1.4.7 Free pronouns

Wangkajunga free pronouns are used infrequently and for contrast (§5.1). They often occur in first position. This is illustrated by example 12.15, where the speaker contrasts what the others ate with what she ate.

- 12.16 *Only, ngayu-lu-rna ngala-ngu ngapi, kuka.*
 only 1sg-ERG-1sgS eat-PST HES game
 I was the only one that ate the um, game. [KNG]

12.1.4.8 Answers to questions

Answers to questions also determine the order of words in clauses. Answers to information questions, the focused part of the clause occurs at the beginning of the clause. In the narrative about the making of dresses with flour bags the speaker is being prompted for further information. The clauses that form the responses to the prompts begin with the item that is being prompted. Although the entity is labelled in Kriol or English and the prompt is in English the order of the Wangkajunga answer is with the focus first. Examples 12.17, 12.18 and 12.19 illustrate English questions and Wangkajunga answers. In example 12.17 the answer begins with the negative particle which is the normal position for negative particles (§12.3). The first word after the negative particle is the instrument *bottlekurlulu* 'with bottle glass' which is the answer to the prompt. In example 12.18 the Object argument of the verb *ngalkunma* 'used to eat' occurs first in answer to a prompt

about the rations they received. Example 12.19 has a process verb *wajimmarnun* ‘washed’ occurring first in answer to a question about how they washed the flour bags.

Instrument first

12.17 Did you cut the flour bags with scissors?

Wiya bottle-kurlu-lu, bottle-kurlu-lu-laju wanin-ma.
 NEG glass-HAV-ERG glass-HAV-ERG-1plexS cut-PSTHB
 No, we used to cut it with pieces of glass. [FLBD]

Object first

12.18 Did you get rations on the station?

yu, ration, Mirrka-laju ngalkun-ma, yumu-lu bread,
 AFF ration vegetable.food-1plexS eat-PSTHB merely-ERG bread
 Yes, rations, we used to eat bread, just station bread. [FLBD]

Process first

12.19 How did you clean the flourbags?

Wajim-ma-nun-pa-laju soap-kurlu-lu soda soap
 wash-CAUS-PST-PA-1plexS soap-HAV-ERG caustic.soda soap
 We washed it with soap, caustic soda soap. [FLBD]

The focus-first order of answers to questions also applies to rhetorical questions that the storyteller asks of herself during the course of the story (§12.2). Example 12.20 shows a question the speaker asks herself about what they used to call a social security payment. The answer begins with the Object argument of *wajalpayi* ‘always said’. There is a pause between the hesitation particle *ngapi* and the next clause.

Object first

12.20 *Wajan-ma-ya, jiji-kurnu-lu mani ngapi, ‘Two pound’-pa-ya*
 say-PSTHB-3plS child-POSS-ERG money HES two pound-PA-3plS

wajal-payi
 say-CHAR

For the children’s money they used to say, um, ‘two pounds’ they always said.
 [FLBD]

12.1.4.9 Politeness

Social behaviour can also influence the order of words in Wangkajunga clauses. The form *yumu* ‘just’ is used to preface requests or statements when the speaker intends to show goodwill and is cautious about the listeners’ response. This particle typically occurs clause-initially but can occur between clauses in expressions like afterthoughts (example 12.18). In polite requests *yumu* occurs at the beginning of the discourse and the action or entity that is the focus of the request follows the particle. Example 12.21 was used to

reassure the listener of the lack of intended offence. Example 12.22 was used in a request about the payment of money.

12.21 *Yumu-lu-rna-nta warrki-n ngalpu.*
just-ERG-1sgS-2sgO growl-PRES playful
Its nothing, I'm just growling at you in fun. [NBK3:55]

12.22 *Yumu-lu-rna japi-nin-pa*
just-ERG-1sgS ask-PRES-PA
It's nothing really I'm just asking. [NBK3:94]

12.1.4.10 Morphology marking pragmatic function

Wangkajunga also has morphological marking for pragmatic functions. I have labelled them both 'focus'. Both of them focus an entity, or proposition by contrasting it with another entity or proposition. Example 12.23 focuses on the 'father' *yirna* and 'that game' *jii kuka* to show that their father also hunted dingoes. This example illustrates that the focus is not limited to one argument but that two separate arguments can be focused. In example 12.24 the *nga* suffix focuses 'gooseberry' to compare it with the 'plant food' *jinjiwirrily*. In examples 12.24, 12.25 and 12.26 the *nguninji* suffix is used to focus a European word, to contrast it with a Wangkajunga word (12.24), an old name to contrast it with a new name (12.25) and a type of material (12.26) to contrast it with the material of flour bags.

-nga (FOC) focus

12.23 1. *Kalki-lu-ya kati-ma wirta-ya wana-la pu-wa*
others-ERG-3plS take-PSTHB dog-3plS follow-NARPST hit-NARPST
waka-la wanapari 2. *Yirna-lu-nga-lampaju waka-la*
spear-NARPST dingo father-ERG-FOC-1plexDAT spear-NARPST
kuka-nga jii-nga.
game-FOC DEM-FOC
The others used to take a dog, they'd track and hunt a dingo. Our father used to spear that food for us. [DHN]

12.24 *gooseberry-nga, ngapi-yuru, ngapi-rna waja-lku mirrka yangka*
gooseberry-FOC HES-SIM HES-1sgS say-FUT plant.food DEM
ngana jinjiwirrily, Jinjiwirrily mayi-lampaju, gooseberry-nga-yila
INDEF plant.name plant.name plant.food gooseberry-FOC-then
jinjiwirrily-yuru
plant name-SIM
The gooseberry is like, um what shall I say, its a plant food something like you know, *jinjiwirrily*. *Jinjiwirrily* is our plant and then the gooseberry is similar to *jinjiwirrily*. [SWPMi]

-nguninji (FOC) focus

- 12.25 *Wajan-in sore kartiya-lu-nguninji.*
say-PRES sore European-ERG-FOC
It's the Europeans that say 'sore'. [BRNS]
- 12.26 *Nyukurni-janu-nguninji palunya-kurnu yini.*
before-ABL-FOC palunya-POSS name
It's from the old days that name of hers. [KNG]
- 12.27 *Wiya material-pa yangka warinka-ngun kartiya-kurangu*
NEG material-PA DEM arrive-PST European-POSS
turrirti-nguninji palya ngaa-yuru
dress(K)-FOC good DEM-SIM
It's not material, the stuff that came for the nice English women's dresses, not like this. [FLBD]

na Kriol focus marker

There are frequent examples of a focus word *na* in the texts. This has been borrowed into Wangkajunga from the English 'now' via Kriol. Example 12.28, illustrates this form.

- 12.28 *Ngaa-kujarra-lu-jananya-pula na nyupa-rarra-lu ju-nu ya-nu.*
DEM-two-ERG-3plO-3dIS FOC spouse-PAIR-ERG put-PST go-PST
These two, the parents left them. [SWPN]

12.1.5 Afterthoughts

Another common feature of Wangkajunga narratives is the frequent use of 'afterthoughts'. This occurs post-verbally and gives further information about a constituent in the main clause. Afterthoughts provide additional information in the form of lists, corrections and clarification of the information in the clause. In examples 12.29 to 12.32 afterthoughts have been separated from the main clause by a comma.

12.1.5.1 Additional information

- 12.29 *An wituka-laju ya-rra wama kuwinjana-ma, wama-nyu*
CONJ also-1plexS go-PSTHB nectar suck-PSTIMP nectar-REP
ngapi jalpinpa
HES nectar.type
And also we'd go for nectar, nectar, they call it, um, wattle tree nectar. [DHN]

12.1.5.2 Additional information in a list

- 12.30 *Kuka-nga jii-nga-laju pujmana-nga punga-ma, nyinkurlu*
game-FOC DEM-FOC-1plexS traditional-FOC hit-PSTIMP lizard
kamu mala kamu mingajurru kamu
CONJ Rufous.hare.wallaby CONJ bandicoot CONJ
That's the traditional food we ate, lizards, wallabies and bandicoots. [DHN]

12.1.5.3 Clarification in another language

- 12.31 *Trailer-lampaju ngartalya-nu kutu-ngka tali-ngka, pilyurrpilyurr-ja*
 trailer-1plexDAT break-PST middle-LOC sandhill-LOC slope-LOC
kankani highwan-ja sandhill you know
 above high(K)-LOC sandhill you know
 Our trailer broke in the middle of a sandhill, a big steep sandhill, a high sandhill,
 you know. [KNG].

12.1.5.4 Hesitations

- 12.32 *Ya-nu-laju dinner-kutu, nganayi-kutu ngapi-kutu Fitzroy-kutu.*
 go-PST-1plexS dinner-ALL HES-ALL HES-ALL place.name-ALL
 We went to um, um Fitzroy for dinner. [KNG]

12.2 Questions

Wangkajunga has ‘yes/no’ questions, tag questions and interrogative pronouns. Interrogative pronouns are also discussed in §5.3. The texts also contain often repeated questions of the same structure. I have classed these as rhetorical questions and mentioned them in this section.

12.2.1 Yes/no, polar questions

These questions have the same form as declarative sentences. A rising intonation contour gives them the interrogative meaning. This type of question is typically answered with the affirmative particle *yu, yuwa* ‘yes’ or the negative particle *wiya* ‘no’, nothing’. Examples 12.33 to 12.36 illustrate yes/no questions. Example 12.31 shows that this type of question can be a single word.

- 12.33 *Jina-n ngartalya-nu*
 foot-2sgS break-PST
 Did you sprain your [ankle] foot. [NBK2:19]
- 12.34 *Palya-ju-n*
 good-1sgDAT-2sgS
 Are you okay with me doing that? [KNG]
- 12.35 *Palya-n ngarr-in-pa*
 good-2sgS lie-PRES-PA
 Are you alright? [PSCDS]
- 12.36 *Tii jiki-lku-n*
 tea drink-FUT-2sgS
 Will you drink tea?/Do you want some tea? [NBK2]

Goddard (1985:125) mentions that Yankunytjatjara speakers use ‘yes/I agree’ and ‘no/I disagree’ according to whether they agree or disagree with the proposition expressed in the question, rather than with respect to the polarity of the answer as in English. Wangkajunga

speakers answer yes/no questions in the same way. This is shown in the question and answer in example 12.37.

- 12.37 *Wiya-npula parnaparnti pu-ngu?*
 NEG-2dIS goanna hit-PST
 You two didn't kill a goanna?

Yuu. Paka-rnu ya-nu.
 AFF get.up-PST go-PST
 Yes. It took off. [NBK2:19]

12.2.2 Tag questions

12.2.2.1 *kurlu*

Yes/no questions can be followed by the question tag *kurlu* which is an independent word and always occurs at the end of the clause. Clauses tagged by *kurlu* require confirmation or disconfirmation of the assertion. The question tag *kurlu* is very common amongst all age groups and is occasionally added to the end of English questions. The following examples illustrate the use of *kurlu* with Wangkajunga clauses.

- 12.38 *Car-n ma-nku kurlu*
 car-2sgS get-FUT TAG
 You'll get the car, will you? [NBK2:19]

 12.39 *Kuka jii nyunmi kurlu*
 game DEM cooked TAG
 That meat is cooked, isn't it? [NBK2:232]

 12.40 *Ya-nku-rna-nta kurlu*
 go-FUT-1sgS-2sgACS TAG
 I'll go with you, OK? [NBK3:64]

12.2.2.2 'you know'

Some speakers also use the tag, 'you know' from English. The 'you know' form is very common in texts, as part of the constructions I have called afterthoughts (§12.1.5). I have not investigated the possibility that it is used mostly for audiences who are not fluent speakers of Wangkajunga. In the texts, questions followed by the tag 'you know' are rhetorical as they do not require an answer. They have the same rising intonation as questions. Example 12.41 shows the use of the question tag 'you know' taken from an informal text about bush foods.

- 12.41 *Mirrka-laju yanga nga-lkun-ma jirilypaja you know*
 plant.food-1plexS DEM eat-IRR-PSTIMP plant.food TAG
 A plant food, that one we used to eat called 'jirilypaja', you know.

12.2.3 Interrogative nominals

The question words *ngana* 'what', *wanja* 'where' and *jaatu* 'where' *nyangula* 'when' belong to the nominal class in Wangkajunga and are discussed in §5.3. Interrogative

nominals always occur at the beginning of the clause and have scope over the whole clause. Example 12.42 to 12.44 illustrate the use of *ngana* ‘what’, *wanja* ‘where’ and *nyangula* ‘when’.

- 12.42 *Ngana parntany pampa?*
 INDEF woman blind
 Who is the blind woman? [NBK2:218]
- 12.43 *Wanja-ngka nyin-in-pa-n?*
 where-LOC stay-PRES-PA-2sgS
 Where are you staying?
- 12.44 *Nyangula-n ya-nku?*
 when-2sgS go-FUT
 When will you go?

12.2.4 Interrogative verb

The inchoative *-arri* is added to the interrogative *wanjal* to form an interrogative intransitive verb. This verb has the meaning ‘do what’ and requests an identification or explanation of the listener’s action.

- 12.45 *Wanjal-arri-ku-n?*
 do.what-INCH-FUT-1sgS
 What are you going to do?

12.2.5 Questions

Wangkajunga texts contain a number of rhetorical questions which have the structure of questions, that is, the rising intonation, questions tags and questions-words, but which do not require an answer. Their purpose is to emphasise or to connect sections of the discourse. The previously cited example 12.41 is one of these rhetorical questions and further examples are illustrated by 12.46 to 12.49. The first two examples are from narratives about the storytellers’ life in the desert. The rhetorical questions link listed items. Examples 12.48 and 12.49 are descriptions of illustrations. In these examples the speaker is questioning herself about the identity of parts of the drawing. Example 12.46 is from one speaker and examples 12.47 to 12.49 are from another speaker.

- 12.46 *Laltu-janampa-pula kuka pu-ngu minyawu kamu minyawu*
 lots-3plDAT-3dIS game hit-PST cats CONJ cats
ngapi parnaparnti ngana-partu ngana-partu kuka
 HES goannas INDEF-TYPE INDEF-TYPE game
jalapa jantu lurrju.
 blue.tongue.lizard dingoes also
 The two of them killed lots of animals for [the children], cats and cats, uh,
 goannas, what other types, blue-tongue lizards and dingoes as well. [SWPM1]
- 12.47 *An ngana-kujupa wanapari kuka palya, an winkuma kuka*
 CONJ INDEF-ANOTH dingo game good CONJ possum game

palya an mingajurru kuka palya
 good CONJ bandicoot game good
 And what else, dingo is good food, possum is good food and bandicoot is good food. [DHN]

- 12.48 *wana-kurlu kurlata-kurlu ngapi-kurlu ngana-rna waja-lku*
 digging.stick-HAV spear-HAV HES-HAV INDEF-1sgS say-FUT
marapaku-kurlu
 spear.thrower-HAV
 with a digging stick, a spear, um, what will I say, with a spear thrower. [DHN]

- 12.49 *Ngaa wilura-kujupa-nga ngana kuka-munta*
 DEM south-ANOTH-FOC INDEF game-DUB
 This other one to the south, what animal could it be? [SWPN]

12.2.6 Particles used with interrogatives

The particle *munta* that has a dubitative function is often included with question-word rhetorical questions. The particle is illustrated in example 12.49 above and in example 12.50.

- 12.50 *Ngana-malu-munta-pula pu-ngu-ka?*
 INDEF-NUM-DUB-3dIS hit-PST-COMPL
 How many might these two have killed? [SWPN]

12.3 Negation

This section describes the various forms of negation in Wangkajunga. The particle *wiya* is the most productive means of negation in the language. The same negative particle is common to all the languages of the Western Desert. The functions of *wiya* are described in §8.5. and the negatives verbs *wiyarringu* and *wiyala* in the §8.5.2 and §8.5.3 respectively. The negative functions of the suffix *-munu* are described in §12.3.5 (see also §8.5.4). The functions of the privative suffix *-parni* are discussed in §12.3.6. Section 12.3.7 gives an account of the function of the particle *purtu* ‘in vain’. The negative meanings of the lexical items *jurra* and *purtala* are mentioned briefly in §12.3.8.

12.3.1 The particle *wiya*

The particle *wiya* has a prolific function as an exclamation. As such it occurs alone as the response to yes/no questions, as a warning to children and as a response to requests. *Wiya* is the negative counterpart of the affirmative *yuwa*. There is a difference in the negative exclamation in that it can be further modified to function as a verb. The affirmative *yuwa* is strictly an exclamation. The following example is an illustration of this use of *wiya* in a text.

- 12.51 *Wiya-laju-ngku wajimmana-ma kalyu-kurlu-lu*
 NEG-1plexS-REFL wash-PSTHB water-HAV-ERG
 We didn’t wash ourselves with water. [DHN]

To negate a clause in Wangkajunga *wiya* is placed before or after the clause (examples 12.54 and 12.57). It is used to assert that a statement isn't true, that an action didn't happen, that an action shouldn't happen. The scope of the negation is across the entire assertion. The preferred position for the particle is clause initially. In the next group of examples *wiya* occurs at the beginning of the utterance and negates the meaning of the whole statement.

- 12.52 *Wiya yungka-rnu*
 NEG shoot-PST
 He didn't shoot it. [KNG]

The particle *wiya* also negates verbless clauses.

- 12.53 *Wiya-rna-ra ninti jii-ku warta-ku yini-ku*
 NEG-1sgS-3sgDAT knowledge DEM-DAT tree-DAT name-DAT
 I don't know the name of that plant. [NBK2:195]
- 12.54 *Wiya ngayu-kurnu nyuntu-kurnu.*
 NEG 1sg-POSS 2Ssg-POSS
 It's not mine. It's yours. [NBK3:133]

There are examples in the texts of *wiya* negating single words. This is shown in examples 12.55 and 12.56.

- 12.55 *Wiya juku, jarlu ngara-ma jii-nga nganayi-nga tarrki*
 NEG small large stand-PSTIMP DEM-FOC HES-FOC turkey
 It wasn't small. That was a big turkey. [KNG]
- 12.56 *Jiina-ya wanin-ma, wiya kuwarri.*
 like.that-3plS cut-PSTHB NEG now
 They used to cut it like that, not these days. [KNG]

12.3.2 The use of English 'no'

The negative 'no' is borrowed from English and also used in Wangkajunga texts by some speakers. In the example 12.58 both 'no' and *wiya* are used. In this use the clause containing *wiya* follows the clause containing 'no'. The negative particle occurs immediately after the 'no' clause and immediately before the second clause.

- 12.57 *mayi-parni-laju yana-ma no mayi wiya.*
 plant.food-PRIV-1plexS go-PSTIMP NEG(E) plant.food NEG
 We would be travelling without food, nothing, no food. [NB]
- 12.58 *Well kuwarri no kalyu ngaa-ja, wiya no kalyu*
 well(E) now NEG(E) water DEM-LOC NEG NEG(E) water.
 Well there's no water here these days. [JDS]

12.3.3 Negative instructions

Negative instructions are in the future tense rather than imperative. If the action has no endpoint then the future imperfective is used. Unlike instructions in the imperative the second person singular cross-referencing clitic *-n* is often used. The politeness of a request

in Wangkajunga is dependent on the relationship between the speaker and hearer. In certain relationships it is not impolite to make quite direct requests. In more formal relationships an imperfective request is more polite (§8.3.1.2).

- 12.59 *Wiya-n nyanga-mal jii milimili.*
 NEG-2sgS look-FUTIMP DEM paper
 Don't try looking at that paper. [NBK2:74]
- 12.60 *Wiya-ju-n kalyu jiki-lku*
 NEG-1sgDAT-2sgS water drink-FUT
 Dont drink my water. [NBK2:134]
- 12.61 *Wiya-n ya-nku nyarra-kutu.*
 NEG-2sgS go-FUT DEM-ALL
 Don't go over there! [NBK2:134]
- 12.62 *Wiya-ni-n ngampurr-ma-namal.*
 NEG-2sgO-2sgS look.after-CAUS-FUTIMP
 Don't try to be looking after me. (To be said to a dog or bullock) [NBK3:51]

Example 12.63 contrasts a negative instruction with an imperative.

- 12.63 *Wiya-ni-n waru yu-ngku. Yalta-rni yu-wa!*
 NEG-2sgO fire give-FUT cold-2sgO give-IMP
 Don't give me hot tea! Give me cold. [NBK2:189]

12.3.4 The intransitive verb *wiyarringu*

The intransitive verb *wiyarringu* is made up of the particle *wiya* plus the inchoative and the *wa* class verbal inflections section. This is discussed in §8.5.2. It has the meaning 'disappeared', 'finished' or 'dead'. Example 12.64 shows its use.

- 12.64 *Kuwarri-ya maitbi wiya-rri-ngu parnaparnti*
 now-3plS maybe NEG-INCH-PST sand.goanna
 It might have disappeared now, the sand goanna. [BRNS]

12.3.5 The suffix *-munu*

The suffix *munu* negates the nominal to which it is suffixed (§8.5.4). I have labelled it CONTR for contradictive.

The suffix *munu* has the same function in Kukatja, Manyjilyjarra and Yulparija. In Manyjilyjarra the form *munu* can also function as a nominal (Marsh 1992:188). The neighbouring language, Nyangumarta, has a negative particle *munu* that can also function as a nominal (Sharp 1998:376). In the southern Western Desert language Yankunytjatjara the form *munu* functions as a noun phrase co-ordinator (Goddard 1985:134) In Ngaanyatjarra *munu* is a negative suffix occurring on complex verbs (Glass and Hackett 1970:22).

In example 12.65 *munu* is suffixed to the nominal *lingka* 'snake'. The speaker corrects herself and changes *lingka* to *warna* another type of snake.

- 12.65 *Nganayi-yuru waja-nin-payi? lingka, lingka-munu-wu, warna*
 HES-SIM say-PRES-CHAR 'lingka' 'lingka'-CONTR-EMPH 'warna'
 What sort do they say? *Lingka*? not 'lingka', 'warna'.
 (*lingka* and *warna* are types of snakes)

12.3.6 The privative *-parni*

The privative suffix *-parni* indicates that there is a lack of the entity to which it is suffixed (§4.2.1.3). Example 12.66 shows the use of the privative suffix.

- 12.66 *Nyukurni-laju kanyi-nin mimi kartiya-parni-ngka.*
 before-1plexS have-PRES sore European-PRIV-LOC
 In the old days, when there were no Europeans, we had sores. [FLBD]

12.3.7 The particle *purtu* 'in vain'

The particle *purtu* 'in vain' occurs at the beginning of a clause and indicates that the action of the clause was unsuccessful or that it did not have the intended outcome (§10.6.7.4).

- 12.67 *Purtu-laju ngara-rnu.*
 in.vain-1plexS stand-PST
 We stopped there for nothing (speaker's gloss). [KNG]
- 12.68 *Parra-purtu watiju-rnu. Purtu-ra parra-nu.*
 around-in.vain track-PST in.vain-3sgDAT around-PST
yampangarra-rri-ngu.
 encircle-INCH-PST
 She tracked it in vain. She circled right around it, without success. [SWPN]

12.3.8 Lexical items which include a negative meaning

Negative meanings can also be implicit in the meaning of certain lexical items. The negative meaning in words is a matter of degree. I have included four examples.

12.3.8.1 *jurra* 'leave it', 'don't touch it'

The transitive verb *jurra* generally has the broad meaning 'put'. In the imperative form it can be used with the meaning 'leave it alone', 'don't touch it'. The following instructions were given when an attempt to make a damper, a soft bread, was failing.

- 12.69 *Nyamu Ju-rra! Puta-ma-nku-n*
 finish put-IMP bad-CAUS-FUT-2sgS
 Stop now. Don't touch it any more. You'll make it worse. [NBK2:39]

12.3.8.2 *putala* ‘missed it’

The transitive verb *putala* ‘missed it’ has the negative meaning ‘did not hit it’. This is a derived verb from the particle *puta* ‘bad’ and zero derivation (§7.4.3). In example 12.70 the speaker is reporting a failed attempt to shoot a bustard or bush turkey.

- 12.70 *Barry-lu puta-rnu*
 name-ERG miss-PST
 Barry missed [did not shoot] it! [KNG]

12.3.8.3 *ngurrpa* ‘don’t know’ ‘ignorant’

The nominal *ngurrpa* is commonly used to indicate a speaker’s negative state or to indicate that the speaker doesn’t want to give information. The nominal *ninti* indicates an attribute of knowledge whereas *ngurrpa* indicates a lack of knowledge. The following is a common answer to questions requesting facts and also a polite way of refusing to give information.

- 12.71 *Ngurrpa-rna-ra*
 unknowing-1sgS-3sgDAT
 I don’t know about that.

12.4 Direct and indirect speech

Wangkajunga is like many of the world’s languages in having a group of utterance verbs that take direct or indirect speech complements. This section describes the ways that Wangkajunga speakers use these verbs to represent the linguistic utterances made by themselves or by others.

12.4.1 Direct quote complements

Direct speech is far more prominent in the Wangkajunga texts than indirect speech. The preference, or lack of it, for direct speech in Australian languages has been the subject of some discussion (Rumsey 1990). The direct quote has a characteristic high pitch that sets it apart from the surrounding discourse. The order of these direct quote complements is for them to follow the main utterance verb.

Direct quotes are used in a variety of recorded texts from lengthy recounts of trips to the desert, to stories of the traditional life in the desert to short faxed messages. The faxed message was recorded by a person literate in Wangkajunga who inserted the punctuation marks. The two examples below are from a short faxed message and a recount of a desert trip respectively.

- 12.72 *Waja-rnu-ju Barry-lu ‘Ya-nku-n Saturday.night*
 say-PST-1sgDAT name-ERG go-FUT-2sgS Saturday.night
Port.Hedland-kutu.’ Yu-ngu-rni ticket.
 Port.Hedland-ALL give-PST-1sgO ticket
 Barry said to me, ‘You could go to Port Hedland on Saturday night’ He gave me the ticket. [FAX1]

- 12.73 *Pawul-ma-nu-janampa 'Ya-rra kati-rni-ya wana-wu!'*
 shout-CAUS-PST-3plDAT go-IMP take-1sgO-3plS digging stick-VOC
 He called out to them, 'Bring me a digging stick.' [KNG]

Direct quote complements are understood to be more-or-less verbatim of what the speaker said. The tense of the complement can be independent of the utterance verb. Example 12.72 has the utterance verb in the past tense while the verb *yanku* 'go' in the direct speech complement is in the future tense.

In direct speech the cross-referencing bound pronouns are controlled by the arguments of the quote rather than the arguments of the utterance verb. This is illustrated in examples 12.72 and 12.73 above. The speech utterance verbs can optionally take Dative arguments, but the verb *yanku* 'go' does not. In the example above the first person singular cross-referencing pronoun *-ju* applies to *wajarnu* 'said' but not to the verb *yanku* of the direct quote. The cross-referencing of example 12.73 behaves in a similar way. The speech utterance verb *pawulamanu* 'call out' has an optional Dative argument crossreferenced by the third person plural *-janampa*. The direct quote has a serial construction in the imperative that crossreferences a third person plural Subject *-ya*.

The following Wangkajunga verbs have direct quote complements:

<i>japila</i>	'ask'
<i>pawulmarra</i>	'shout at, to'
<i>wangka</i>	'say'
<i>wajala</i>	'say'
<i>watala</i>	'tell'
<i>witula</i>	'call over'

Example 12.74 provides an example of a direct speech complement with the verb *witula* 'call over'. This verb is semantically slightly different to the other speech utterance verbs listed above in that the Subject of *witula* can manipulate the hearer into action by the utterance.

- 12.74 *an witurnu-ra yiya-rnu kalyu-ku. 'Ya-rra-ju*
 and(E) call over-3plDAT send-PST water-DAT go-IMP-1sgDAT
manma-la. 'Wartil-pa-li ya-nku-ra.'
 fill.with.water-IMP hunting-PA-1dIS go-IRR-UNR
 And he called her over to send her for some water, 'Fill up the wooden water
 carrying dish for me. Let's go hunting.' [SWPM]

Wangkajunga speakers can also use the verb *nyawa* 'see' to introduce direct speech (§7.1.1.3). This use of *nyawa* 'see' is very common in texts about the traditional life in the desert. It can be compared to the use of 'go' to introduce direct quotes by some speakers of English. Eckert and Hudson (1988:273) describe the verb *nyangu* 'to see' as a direct speech introducer in Pitjantjatjara.

The two examples 12.75 and 12.76 are from different speakers of Wangkajunga.

- 12.75 *Paka-la-laju wirrja-wirrjan-ma nyarra nya-wa pina*
 get.up-PSTHB-1plexS run-RDP-PSTIMP DEM see-PSTHB far

'Nyarra tirrirti-ngu-pula yirna kamu yipi.'

DEM climb down-PAST-3dIS father CONJ mother.

We would get up and run hard and see a long way off 'There's mum and dad climbing down [the sandhill].' [SWPM1]

- 12.76 *Palunya-ya jiji ngalpu-rri-n-pa-ya tali-ngka.*

DEM-3plS child play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS sandhill-LOC

Nyang-in-pa-pulampa-ya yipi-ku mama-ku 'Nyarra-pula

see-PRES-PA-3dlDAT-3plS mother-DAT father-DAT DEM-3dIS

yan-in-pa-wu!'

go-PRES-PA-VOC

Those children are playing in the sandhills. They see their mother and father, 'They're coming!' [SWPN]

12.4.2 Indirect speech

Although speech is generally introduced by direct quotes in the texts, indirect speech is common in conversations. These are also discussed in §11.1.1.3. In these sentences the indirect speech is in the form of a subordinate clause. The infinitive of the subordinate clause is suffixed with the same Subject complementiser *-kija* or the different Subject complementiser *-jaku*. In these constructions the subordinate clause is not marked for tense. The infinitive is marked for case in agreement with an argument of the main clause.

In example 12.77, the Subject of the main clause, Rosie, is the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause. The infinitive is suffixed by *-kija* and has Ergative case in agreement with the Subject of the main clause. In example 12.78, the Subject of the main clause, Maree, is not the same as the Subject of the subordinate clause. The infinitive in this example is suffixed by *-jaku* and there is no Ergative case in agreement with the Subject of the main clause.

If the number of persons in the subordinate clause is not the same as the number of persons in the main clause the arguments of the subordinate clause can be crossreferenced by bound pronouns. This is illustrated in example 12.79.

- 12.77 *Rosie-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-kija-lu.*

name-ERG-1sgO told-PST go-IRR-INT-ERG

Rosie told me that she wants to come. [NBK3:64]

- 12.78 *Maree-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-jaku.*

name-ERG-1sgO say-PST go-IRR-DS

Maree told me that she [Sandy] wants to go. [NBK3:65]

- 12.79 *Barbara-lu-rni waja-rnu ya-nku-jaku-rna-nyurranya.*

name-ERG-1sgO say-PST go-IRR-DS-1sgS-2plACS

Barbara told me that I could come with all of you. [NBK3:65]

Appendix: Wangkajunga texts

Childhood in the Desert

Nada Rawlins

This is an extract from a long story about the speakers' childhood in the Great Sandy Desert and her subsequent move to the cattle stations in the southern Kimberley region. The speaker is a mature woman. Wangkajunga is her first language. The text is segmented into clauses containing bound pronouns.

1. *Yipi-lu mama-lu-lanyaju-ya kuka pungku-la yunga-ma,*
mother-ERG father-ERG-1PLexO-3PLS game kill-SER give-PSTHB
bushman, bush tucker. 2. *Ngayu-n-pa-laju yurlta nyina-ma,*
traditional(K) bush.foods(K) 1sg-PL-PA-1PLexS in.camp stay-PSTHB
jiji-lu yurlta-ngka, you know 3. *Ngampayi-ya ya-rra pina.*
child-3sgACS in.camp-LOC you.know DEM-3PLS go-NARPST far
4. *Pina-ya ya-rra yuraly-jarra kalyu-kurlu,* 5. *an ngula-ya*
far-3PLS go-NARPST thirst-ASST water-HAV CONJ(E) later-3PLS
miti-kurlu warinkati-ø ruka-ruka, ruka-jarra 6. *Ngayu-n-pa-laju*
cooked-HAV arrive-NARPST afternoon-RDP afternoon-ASST 1SG-PL-PA-1PLexS
pungku-la ngalkun-ma lizard-pa, nyangka kuka, nyunma-karrajayi,
kill-SER eat-PSTHB lizard-PA DEM game burnt area-ORIGIN
limpirri, kaanu 7. *Kaanu-laju pungku-la ngalkun-ma*
small.lizard small.lizards small.lizard-1PLexS kill-SER eat-PSTHB
nyunma-ngka 8. *Puwa-laju, yujunpu-wa ngalanga-la nyina-ma,*
burnt.area-LOC kill-NARPST-1PLexS roast-NARPST eat-NARPST stay-PSTHB
hunting, kaanu, kuka kaanu, lizard. 9. *An, kaanu kamu,*
hunting(E) lizard game small.lizard lizard CONJ small.lizards CONJ
ngiyari kamu-laju punga-ma.
mountain.devil CONJ-1PLexS hit-PSTHB

1. Our mothers and fathers used to hunt traditional foods for us, bush foods. 2. We would stay at home, in the camp, with the baby. 3. The adults would go a long way. 4. They would go a long way with water to quench their thirst on the way back, 5. and they would come back late in the afternoon with the cooked food. 6. We kids would be killing and

eating game, lizards, those small lizards that live in the burnt area around the camp. 7. We'd be killing and eating those lizards from the burnt area. 8. We used to hunt, killing the small lizards, roasting and eating them, those small dragon lizards. 9. We'd kill dragon lizards and mountain devils.

10. *Yurlta-ngka-laju* *pu-ngku-la* *ngalkun-ma* 11. *An* *wituka-laju*
camp-LOC-1PlexS kill-FUT-SER eat-PSTHB CONJ as.well-1PlexS
ya-rra *wama-ku,* *kuwinjana-ma* *wama-nyu,* *ngapi,* *jalpin-pa,* *wama.*
go-NARPST nectar-DAT suck-PSTHB nectar-REP HES grevillea.sp-PA nectar
12. *Kuwinjana-ma-laju* *yilpurrrjana-ma* *ssslrrrrp,* *ssslrrp,* *jiilanya-la.* 13. *An*
suck-PSTHB-1PlexS lick-PSTHB sound.effects-RDP DEM-EMPH CONJ
palunyajanu, *ya-rra-laju* *ngaa-nga* *munuka-munuka* *waarrpa.* 14. *Warrpa,*
after that go-NARPST-1PlexS DEM-FOC different-RDP sticky sticky
proper *kitkit,* *from* *that* *karlaka,* *wama.* 15. *An* *malaku-laju*
really(K) sticky(WAL) from that nectar(WAL) nectar CONJ return-1PlexS
ya-rra *nyina-ma.* 16. *Wiya-laju-ngku* *wajim-mana-ma* *ngaa*
go-NARPST stay-PSTHB NEG-1plexS-REFL wash-CAUS-PSTHB DEM
kalyu-kurlu-lu *kuralpu-wa,* 17. *nothing,* *yumu* *nyina-ma.*
water-HAV-ERG wash-NARPST NEG(K) just stay-PSTHB
18. *Nyina-laju-jananya,*
stay-1plexS-3plO
nya-wa *kuka-kurlu* *miti-kurlu,* *mala* *kamu,* 19. *kuka* *mala,*
see-NARPST game-HAV cooked-HAV Hare.Wallaby CONJ game Hare.Wallaby
bushman, *like.a.kangaroo.* 20. *Yuwayi,* 21. *An* *ngapi,* *winkuma,*
traditional like.a.kangaroo AFF CONJ HES possum
22. *kalkirli-ya* *kati-ma,*
others-3plS take-PSTHB

10. We used to be hunting and eating at the camp. 11. And [kids] would go sucking nectar as well, that, um, grevillea nectar. 12. We used to suck and lick it, sssllrrrrp, sssllrrp, like that. 13. And after that, we used to go for this different sticky stuff. 14. It was sticky, really sticky because of the nectar. 15. And we would go back and rest. 16. We didn't wash ourselves with water, wash, 17. never, just used to stay like that. 18. We'd be there until we'd see them with the cooked meat, 19. wallaby, wallaby meat, bush food, 20. Yeah. 21. and um, possum. 22. They used to get others [game].

23. *Wirta-ya* *wana-la* *pu-wa* *waka-la,* *wanapari,* *bushman,* *wirta.*
dog-3plS follow-NARPST kill-NARPST spear-NARPST dingo traditional dog
24. *Yirna-lu-nga-lampaju* *waka-la* *kuka-nga* *jii-nga.* 25. *Kuka-laju*
man-ERG-FOC-1plexDAT spear-PSTHB game-FOC DEM-FOC game-1plexS
nga-lkun-ma *kuju,* 26. *good,* *meat,* *that* *wanapari.* 27. *Palunyajanu-lu,*
eat-PSTHB one good meat that dingo after that-ERG
wanapari, *minyawu,* *pujikat* *you know,* *ngalyangamuka,* *ngalyangamuka,*
dingo cat cat(K) you.know cat cat

ngalyangamuka, that pujikat you.now, ngalyangamuka, an, waltaki.
 cat that cat(K) you.know cat CONJ fox

28. *pu-ngku-la-lanyaju-ya yunga-ma.* 29. *Waltaki, mingajurru, kuka*
 hit-IRR-SER-1plexO-3plS give-PSTHB fox bandicoot game

mingajurru, like a punypuny bigwan then, 30. *mina-ngka-la jarrpa-ø*
 bandicoot like a mouse(WAL) big(K) FOC nest-LOC-then enter-NARPST

31. *Pu-wa-lajuuuu yalta-puru.* 32. *Warru-la-ngku, warru-la-ngku,*
 kill-NARPST-1plexS cold-TEMP cover-NARPST-REFL cover-NARPST-REFL

warru-la-ngku yirrpi-la. 33. *Warru-la-ngku-pula mina-ngka*
 cover-NARPST-REFL enter-NARPST cover-NARPST-REFL-3dIS nest-LOC

parra-ya-rra jarrpa-ø palunya-kura ngurra.
 around-go-NARPST enter-PSTHB DEM-POSS home

23. They'd follow a dog and kill it [game] by spearing it, a dingo, a bush dog. 24. That's the type of animal our father would spear. 25 We used to eat that. 26. It's good meat, that dingo. 27 And after that dingoes, cats, cats, pussycats, you know, cat, cat, cat, that cat? and foxes, 28. They used to kill those for us, 29. foxes, bandicoots, bandicoot meat, like a mouse but bigger. 30 It goes into a nest. 31. We would kill them in the cold weather. 32. It covers itself, covers itself, covers itself and goes into [the nest]. 33. Two of them would travel all around and then come back and cover themselves up in their very own nest.

34. *Wana-la-laju, yirrpi-la ka-laju, kantu-la jina-lu,*
 follow-NARPST-1plexS enter-NARPST CONJ-1plexS stamp-NARPST foot-ERG

35. *laju-yila-la, tuulya-rra* 36. *laju-ka-wa, jii-na*
 1plexS-pull-NARPST choke-NARPST 1plexS-take-NARPST DEM-FOC

37. *Kuka-lanyaju-ya yunga-ma, jii-n-pa.* 38. *An, waltaki, kuka*
 game-1plexO-3plS give-PSTIMP DEM-PL-PA CONJ fox game

kujupa, an parnaparnti, an kuka laltu-pa, 39. *Bushman-nga-laju*
 another CONJ sand goanna CONJ game lots-PA bush.food-FOC-1plexS

punga-ma laltu. 40. *An ngana kujupa?* 41. *Wanapari kuka palya,*
 hit-PSTHB lots CONJ INDEF another dingo game good

42. *an, winkuma kuka palya,* 43. *an, mingajurru kuka palya,*
 CONJ possum game good CONJ bandicoot game good

44. *an, kaanu, yurlta-ngka-ku jiji-lu nga-lku-nja-pinti.* 45. *an*
 CONJ small.lizards in.camp-LOC-DAT child-ERG eat-IRR-NOMZ-INST CONJ(E)

kilu kamu-pula an minyuparnta, 46. *kuka laltu, minyuparnta,*
 mouse CONJ-3dIS CONJ bettong game lots bettong

ngiyari 47. *an, kuka-nga laltu-ngulyu-lampaju, ngayu-ku,*
 Mountain.Devil CONJ(E) game-FOC lots-CERT-1plexDAT 1sg-DAT

bushman-nga 48. *An, ninu-pa, yangka, like.a.blue.tongue, kartiyawan den*
 traditional-FOC CONJ(E) skinks-PA DEM like.a.blue.tongue European(K) FOC

49. *Palunjanu-lu, ngana kujupa?*
 after.that-ERG what another

34. We'd follow it, it would go into the nest and then we would stamp on it with our feet.
 35. We'd pull it out and choke it. 36. That's the one we'd take. 37. They gave us lots of food,
 38. and dingoes, they're another food, and sand goannas, and lots of food, 39. we had plenty of food in the bush. 40. And what's another one? 41. Dingo is lovely meat, and 42. possum is lovely meat, and 43. wallaby is lovely meat, 44. and dragon lizards, the ones eaten by the kids at home, 45. and mice, and bettong. 46. Lots of food, bettong, mountain devils 47. That's truly our traditional food. 48. And skinks, that one like a white blue-tongue lizard, the white one. 49. And as well as those, what else?

50. *yuwayi ngaa-ngka-laju ya-nu jarrpa-ngu puluman-ja.*
 AFF DEM-LOC-1plexS go-PST enter-PST beef-LOC

51 *Ngampa-lanyaju-ya bushman yiya-rnu.* 52. *Kuka-nga-lanyaju-ya*
 those.adults-1plexO-3plS traditional send-PST game-FOC-1plexO-3plS

ngarri-ø yunga-ma mama-lu, yipi-lu. 53. *Hunting*
 lie-PSTHB give-PSTHB father-ERG mother-ERG hunting(E)

ngurrin-ma-lampaju-yaaaaa wartil-tu. 54. *miti-kurlu-ya*
 search-PSTIMP-1plexDAT-3plS hunting-ERG cooked-HAV-3plS

warinkati 55. *ngurti-ngka-ya kati-ma piti-ngka.* 56. *Kuka*
 arrive coolamon-LOC-3plS carry-PSTIMP coolamon-LOC game

parrawayi-la takurlju-rra paarta-paarta. 57. *Kati-lanyaju-ya yu-wa,*
 xx-PSTHB put.into-PSTIMP many-RDP carry-1plexO-3plS give-PSTHB

58. *laju ngalkun-ma.* 59. *Paka-la-laju wirrja-wirrjan-ma nyarra*
 1plexS eat-PSTIMP get.up-PSTHB-1plexS run-RDP-PSTHB DEM

nya-wa ka pina. 60. *'Nyarra tirrirti-ngu-ni-pula yirna kamu*
 see-PSTHB CONJ far DEM climb.down-PST-DIR-3dIS man CONJ

yipi, tilpu kamu-pula, tilpu, yirna. 61. *Tilpu-kamu yirna-pula,*
 mother mother CONJ-3dIS mother man mother-CONJ man-3dIS

nyarra-yi, ya-nin-pa, kuka-kurlu.'
 DEM-VOC go-PRES-PA game-HAV

50. Well, here, we got into beef. 51. The adults sent us the traditional foods. 52. That was the food our mothers and fathers used to give us. 53. They used to hunt to search for our food 54. they would arrive back with the cooked food. 55. They used to carry it in the coolamon. 56. They used go around and collect many different foods and put them in [the coolamon]. 57. They'd bring it for us and 58. we used to eat it. 59. We would run very fast and see them from a long way off, 60. There's 'Mum and Dad climbing down, mum and dad, mum, dad are coming!' 61. 'Mum and Dad are coming with the food!'

62. *Wala wala wala wala wala wala wala wala yilta-lajuuuu-lu.*
 hurry hurry hurry hurry hurry hurry hurry hurry truly-1plexS-1sgACS

63. *laju-lu-pulanya warinkati, ngatangata kuka-ku-kurra, kuka-kutu.*
 1plexS-1sgACC-3dIO arrive meet game-DAT-ALL game-ALL

64. *‘Wanyu, wanyu-la ka-ngku-ra kuka ngurra-kurra ngurra-ngka-la*
 wait wait-1plS carry-IRR-UNR game home-ALL home-LOC-1plS
nga-lku-ra.’ 65. *Munta-ra-laju-lu wanan-ma, munta-ra-laju-lu*
 eat-IRR-PURP grab-SER-1plexS-3sgABL follow-PSTHB grab-SER-1plexS-3sgABL
wanan-ma yipi-ngka-nga tilpu-ngka ngayu-n-kurnu-ngka.
 follow-PSTHB mother-LOC-FOC mother-LOC 1sg-PL-POSS-LOC
66. *Yaliny-jarra, wituka yirna-lu kati yangka-la kuju*
 shoulder-ASST as.well father-ERG carry-NARPST DEM-then alone
yarra 67. *purlturr-paka kati-ma, warta-ngka ngaa-yuru-ngka.*
 go-NARPST skewered-COMPL take-PSTHB stick-LOC DEM-SIM-LOC
68. *Like a warta-yuru-ya kati-ma warta, wana you.now,*
 like a stick-SIM-3plS carry-PSTHB stick digging.stick you.know
wana, kurlata.
 digging.stick spear

62. Hurry, hurry hurry. We would run really fast over to them. 63. We’d run to meet them with the food. 64. ‘Wait, we’ll take the food home to eat.’ 65. We would follow our mother and try to grab the food from her. 66. And also our father, when our father went hunting alone, he would carry the food across his shoulders. 67. He would be carrying all the food skewered on a stick, like this. 68. It’s the way they carry it with a stick, a digging stick or a spear.

Desert Childhood

Elsie Thomas

This is an extract from a long story about the speakers’ childhood in the Great Sandy Desert and her subsequent move to the cattle stations in the southern Kimberley region. The speaker is a mature woman. Wangkajunga is her first language. The text is segmented into clauses containing bound pronouns.

1. *Yirna-lu, yipi-lu-lanyaju-ya kanyin-mana-ya.* 2. *Wartil-pa-jura-ya*
 man-ERG mother-ERG-1plexO-3plS have-PSTIMP-3plS hunting-PA-1sgABL-3plS
ya-rra kuka-kutu. 3. *Ya-rra-ya pu-wa minyuparnta*
 go-NARPST game-ALL go-NARPST-3plS hit-NARPST marsupial.mouse
waltaki an piti-ngka jawa-la pu-wa, kanaji-lanyaju-ya
 dingo CONJ hole-LOC dig-NARPST hit-NARPST snake-1plexO-3plS
4. *Wungku-ngka-laju nyina-ma kuju-kuju.* 5. *Ahh minijartu*
 windbreak-LOC-1plexS sit-PSTHB one-RDP HES blue-tongue.lizard
- jamparn-pa kuka piti-ngka-ngula ngarr-in kanin-kanin,* 6. *an wayurta,*
 wallaby-PA game hole-LOC-REL lie-PRES down-RDP CONJ possum
warta-ngka tikarlpaka-la 7. *ngarrin-ma-pula kujarra-pula.* 8. *Wurna-ya*
 tree-LOC climb.up-NARPST lie-PSTHB-3dlS two-3dlS move.away-3plS

- tikarlpaka-la yatu-la, pu-wa.* 9. *Kanin-jarra-ya wirrupu-wa.*
 climb.up-NARPST chop-NARPST hit-NARPST down-ASST-3plS throw-NARPST
10. *Palunyajanu-ya, kanaji, kuniya pu-wa, kalirri-kalirri.* 11. *Pu-wa-ya*
 after.that-3plS snake snake kill-NARPST patterned-RDP kill-NARPST-3plS
- parnaparnti kamu-kawaku, pujikatu kamu-kawaku.*
 sand.goanna CONJ-as.well cat CONJ-as.well
1. Our mothers and fathers used to look after us. 2. They would leave us to go hunting for game. 3. They used to kill marsupial mice and dingoes and they would dig in holes for snakes. 4. We used to stay alone in the windbreak. 5. And blue-tongue lizards and wallabies that live in holes underground. 6. Possums would climb up trees. 7. They, two of them, used sleep [in a tree]. 8. They [the adults] would go off and climb a tree and chop [the tree] and kill [the possum]. 9. They would throw it down. 10. After that, they'd kill snakes, the patterned ones. 11. They would kill sand goannas as well, and cats.
12. *Wituka-ya palipu-wa ngapi kamu, ngapi-ya palipu-wa, pangarnu.*
 again-3plS find-NARPST HES CONJ HES-3plS find-NARPST large.goanna
13. *Ngapi-ya palipu-wa wana-la* 14. *Wana-la-ya jarrpa-ø*
 HES-3plS find-NARPST follow-NARPST follow-NARPST-3plS enter-NARPST
- ngapi-kurnu-ngka, palunya-kurnu-ngka ngurti-ngka,* 15. *tiltil-ja piti-ngka*
 HES-POSS-LOC DEM-POSS-LOC hole-LOC red-LOC hole-LOC
- jarrpa-ø* 16. *Wana-la-ya warta-kurlu, kurlata-kurlu-lu kamu*
 enter-NARPST follow-NARPST-3plS stick-HAV spear-HAV-ERG CONJ
- waka-la jii ngapi, ahh, pangarnu kuka.* 17. *Palunyajanu-ya*
 spear-NARPST DEM HES HES large.goanna game after.that-3plS
- yunguny-kujupa ya-rra-ya waka-la karlaya kamu, karlaya.*
 morning-ANOTH go-NARPST-3plS spear-NARPST emu CONJ emu
18. *Wituka-ya paka-la-ya wartil-kujupa, marlu* 19. *kamu-ya*
 again-3plS get.up-NARPST-3plS hunting-ANOTH kangaroo CONJ-3plS
- waka-la, wungku-ngka ngarri-nja-nu.* 20. *Kulyarti-wa-ya,*
 spear-NARPST windbreak-LOC lie-NOM-TREL track-NARPST-3plS
- nyaku-ti-mara-ya,* 21. *yilta-kirli-ya nya-wa nyarra ngarrin-ma,*
 look-ACT-HYP-3plS really-PROB-3plS see-NARPST DEM lie-PSTHB
22. *wana-la-ya waka-la,*
 follow-NARPST-3plS spear-NARPST-3plS

12. And another time they would find, um, they'd find a black goanna. 13. They'd find it and um follow it. 14. They would follow it until it went into its um, its own hole, 15. It would go into a hole in the red ground. 16. They would follow it with a stick, with a spear, and they would spear that um, black goanna. 17. Another morning they would go and spear an emu, an emu. 18. They would get up and go on another hunting trip for a kangaroo 19. and they would spear one lying in a windbreak. 20. They would track it and if they really look 21. they might see one lying there. 22. They would follow it and spear it.

23. *ka-ya pawu-la waru-ngka, tali-ngka, yangka miku-miku-ngka,*
 CONJ-3plS cook-NARPST fire-LOC sandhill-LOC DEM nice-RDP-LOC
tilytily-ja tali-ngka 24. *Malaku-ya kati-ma, yurrilyjarra-janu-lu*
 red-LOC sandhill-LOC return-3plS take-PSTHB thirst-ASST-ABL-ERG
kalyu-kurlu-lu 25. *nyupa-rarra-lu kamu-pula ya-rra waljamparra-kujarra-lu*
 water-HAV-ERG spouse-PAIR-ERG CONJ-3dIS go-NARPST separate-DUAL-ERG
punga-ma, 26. *Waka-la-ya, xx-rra kamu minyawu kamu,*
 hit-PSTHB spear-NARPST-3plS go-NARPST CONJ cat CONJ
pujikat *kamu, jalapa kamu.* 27. *Kuka-kujupa kuka-kujupa,*
 cat CONJ red-coloured.lizard CONJ game-ANOTH game-ANOTH
 28. *kuka laltu nyukurni-ya yulparrira ngara-ma* 29. *mingajurru*
 game lots before-3plS south stand-PSTHB bandicoot
kamu-kawaku. 30. *Mingajurru, pungku-la-lanyaju-ya yipi-lu mama-lu,*
 CONJ-as.well bandicoot hit-SER-1plexO-3plS mother-ERG father-ERG
kati-ra yunga-ma. 31. *Yurlta-laju nyina-ma ka ngarlpu-rri-ma*
 take-SER give-PSTHB in.camp-1plexS stay-PSTHB CONJ play-INCH-PST
tali-wana, 32. *kalyu-laju, kalyu-ngka, jiki-ra ngara-ma.*
 sandhill-PERL water-1plexS water-LOC drink-SER stand-PSTHB
 33. *Wituka-laju ya-rra kaanu pungku-la ngalkun-ma.*
 again-1plexS go-NARPST small.lizard hit-SER eat-PSTHB
 34. *Pu-wa-ya ngalanga-la-ya ngarlpurri-ma tali-ngka.*
 hit-NARPST-3plS eat-NARPST-3plS play-INCH-PSTHB sandhill-LOC
23. And they would cook it in a fire on the sandhill, that lovely red sandhill. 24. After quenching their thirst with their water they would take [the food] back. 25. The husband and wife would go hunting separately. 26. They would spear cats, cats, and lizards, and 27. one animal after another. 28. There were lots of animals in the south, in the old days, 29. bandicoots as well. 30. Mum and Dad used to kill bandicoots and bring them to us. 31. We used to stay in the camp and play across the sandhills. 32. We used to stay near the waterhole to drink the water. 33. Sometimes we would go and hunt and eat small lizards. 34. They would hunt and eat and play on the sandhill.
35. *Tili-la-laju punga-ma waru-kurlu-lu,* 36. *Ya-rra-ya*
 set.alight-NARPST-1plexS hit-PSTHB fire-HAV-ERG go-NARPST-3plS
pura kamu mangarri yirna-la mirrka. 37. *Purlturrpunga-ma-ya*
 bush.tomato CONJ plant.food collect-NARPST plant.food skewer-PSTHB-3plS
ngapi-kurlu-lu, tajitaji-kurlu-lu waka-la waka-laaaa kati-ma,
 HES-HAV-ERG tree.species-HAV-ERG spear-NARPST spear-NARPST take-PSTHB
 38. *Jawa-la-ya jawa-la ka waka-ra-ya, wakan-ma-ya, jii-n-pa,*
 dig-NARPST-3plS dig-NARPST CONJ spear-SER spear-PSTHB-3plS DEM-PL-PA
warta-kurlu-lu, 39. *seed-pa-ya, waka-ra wirrupunga-ma maru-maru.*
 stick-HAV-ERG seed-PA-3plS spear-SER throw.away-PSTHB black-RDP

35. We would set the grass alight and hunt with fire. 36. They would go and collect bush tomatoes and plant foods. 37. They used to skewer the fruit, by piercing it, one piece after the other, with, um, with a stick from a wattle tree and they used to carry it like that. 38. They scrape them one after the other and pierce the pieces with the stick. 39. They would pierce the fruit and discard the black seeds.

Trip to Kaningara

Nada Rawlins

This is an extract from a description of a recent journey to a waterhole near the Canning Stock Route in remote north Western Australia. The speaker is a mature woman whose first language is Wangkajunga. She uses a number of storytelling conventions to signify the distance travelled, to list the participants in the journey and to break the story into meaningful parts. These techniques are discussed in §2.6 and in Chapter 12. I have used repeated sounds; for example *yanuuuuu*, to show the speakers' continuation of a final sound to indicate distance.

1. *Yuu ya-nu-laju last week, Kaningara trip.* 2. *We never go*
 yes go-PST-1plexS last week Kaningara trip we never go
Kaningara really, 3. *ya-nu-laju munuka-wana, uh, Kurlku way.*
 Kaningara really go-PST-1plexS different-PERL HES place.name way
 4. *Kurlku-kutu-laju ya-nu-uuuuu* 5. *Ya-nu-laju, ngarangura-rnu-pa-laju*
 place.name-ALL-1plexS go-PST-STYLE go-PST-1plexS take.a.break-PST-PA-1plexS
Kurlku-ngka 6. *Wiya-laju ngarri-ngu, only just,* 7. *palunyajanu-laju*
 place.name-LOC NEG-1plexS lie-PST only just after.that-1plexS
Kurlku-ngka-laju nyarra-ngka-laju 8. *ya-nu-laju-uuuuuuuuuuu pina*
 place.name-LOC-1plexS DEM-LOC-1plexS go-PST-1plexS-STYLE far
minyirri-laju ngurrpa ngarri-ngu RoadBoard.camp-pa. 9. *Nyukurni-ya*
 very-1plexS ignorant lie-PST Roadboard.camp-PA before-3plS
layi. road-pa wanin-ma. 10. *Wanin-ma-ya road-pa* 11. *Wanin-ma*
 xx road-PA cut-PSTIMP cut-PSTIMP-3plS road-PA cut-PSTIMP
mean deibin katimbat road you know? 12. *Before, langtaim,*
 means they-PST(K) cutting(K) road you know before some.time.ago(K)
nyukurni road board-u-lu.
 before road board-u-ERG

1. Well, we went on the Kaningara trip last week. 2. We didn't actually get to Kaningara. 3. We went a different way, the Kurlku way. 4. We went all the way to Kurlku. 5. We went there and we just took a break at Kurlku, 6. we didn't stay the night, only just, 7. After that we, we went a long way on from there, from Kurlku. 8. We went on I don't know how far and stayed at a Road Board Camp. 9. They graded a road ages ago. 10. They graded the road. 11. 'Waninma' means they graded the road. 12. The Road Board did it years ago.

34. *Not our roadhouse, another one kakarra-kujupa, yanga Morgan-nguru.*
east-ANOTH DEM name-ABL

kakarra-mparni, yulparri-mparni. 35. *Jii-ngka-na-ya yung-in, diesel.*
east-ABL south-ABL DEM-LOC-FOC-3plS give-PRES diesel

36. *Bayim-ma-nin-pa-ya palunya kartiya-nga jii-nga.* 37. *Ya-nu-laju,*
buy-CAUS-PRES-PA-3plS DEM European-FOC DEM-FOC go-PST-1plexS

nyamu-nawu kaarla-rnu jii-ngka-wu 38. *yankirra-rnu yangka-ngula*
finish-FOC break-PST DEM-LOC-EMPH crack-PST DEM-REL

mijinin-pa palunya yankirra-rnu. 39. *jii-nga trailer-nga you know? leg*
hook-PA DEM crack-PST DEM-FOC trailer-FOC you know leg

nyunjun-pa? 40. *An purtu-laju ngara-ngu.* 41. *Purtu-pula ngarra-rnu*
thigh CONJ in.vain-1plexS stand-PST in.vain-3dlS fix-PST

31. Well, from there, we went on and that's exactly where our trailer broke. 32. It was, um, Michael's, the one who works in the roadhouse here. 33. They give petrol, they serve diesel fuel there. 34. Not from our roadhouse, from the other one east, no south from Morgan's. 35. That one, there that serves diesel. 36. They buy it from that European. 37. We went on and it broke right there. 38. It cracked, you know that hook up part, that cracked, 39. the trailer part, you know what I mean?, the leg, the thigh part. 40. Then we stopped there in vain. 41. They couldn't fix it.

42. *Ju-nu-ka-pula yarra-rnu takurltakurlju-nu kankani an karrpi-nu*
put-PST-COMPL-3dlS untie-PST put.into-PST above CONJ tie.up-PST

pali-nuuuuuu toyota-ngka, 43. *palunya-kurnu-ngka, ah* 44. *Palunjanu-luuuuuuuu*
flatten-PST toyota-LOC DEM-POSS-LOC HES SENTMOD-ERG

takurlju-nu-pulaaaaaaa kani-wana 45. *Yirrpi-nu-ya kani-wana*
put.into-PST-3dlS top-PERL tie-PST-3plS top-PERL

46. *ngayu-n-ja-lanyaju-ya toyota, Barry toyota. aaaaaa*
1sg-PL-LOC-1plexO-3plS Toyota name Toyota STYLE

47. *Kurrapa-ngurun-pa-laju ya-nu. Kurrapa Jukuna Ngarta an Wajinya,*
name-GRP-PA-1plexS go-PST name name name CONJ name

48. *Paji, you know ngaa palunyajanu-lu* 49. *ngana-kujupa? Spider*
name you know DEM SENTMOD-ERG INDEF-ANOTH name

Jukuja, Dolly.Snell you know? 50. *An Mary from Jukurirri, dat*
name name you know? CONJ name from place.name DEM(K)

olkoman 51. *Jii-n-pa na-laju ya-nu.* 52. *Only three kartiya,*
woman(K) DEM-PL-PA FOC-1plexS go-PST only three Europeans

yirna kujarra-pula an parntany-pa kuju, 53. *ngayu-rna, jiji-kujarra-pula*
man two-3dlS CONJ woman-PA one 1sg-1sgS child-DUAL-3dlS

kujarra, Lisa kamu Charlene, Jukuna-kura ngawuji 54. *Nyamu.jii-n-pa*
two name CONJ name name-POSS grandchild finish DEM-PL-PA

na-laju ya-nu. 55. *Ya-nu-laju jii-janu kaarlpu-ngu-laju ju-nu-ka.*
FOC-1plexS go-PST go-PST-1plexS DEM-ABL break-PST-1plexS put-PST-COMPL

42. They undid everything and put it on the top of the Toyota and tied it down, 43. on his Toyota. 44. Then they put the trailer across the roof rack. 45. They tied it on top of us on Barry's Toyota. 46. On our Toyota, um, Barry's Toyota. 47. Kurrapa's mob went [on the trip], Kurrapa, Jukuna, Ngarta and Wajinya, you know, 48. Paji, those ones, 49. Who else, Spider Jukuna, you know, Dolly Snell. 50. and Mary, the woman from Jukurirri. 51. They're the ones that went. 52. There were only three Europeans, two men and one woman. 53. And me, and two kids, Lisa and Charlene, Jukuna's grandchild. 54. That's all. They're the ones that went. 55. We went on after we broke and dealt with [the trailer].

56. *Road-camp-pa-nu-laju* *ya-nu, wana-rnu, wana-rnu wana-rnu wana-rnu*
Road.Camp-PA-?-1plexS go-PST follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST

wana-rnu wana-rnu wana-rnu wana-nu wana-rnu wana-rnu
follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST follow-PST

57. *ka-laju road-pa wana-rnu na.* 58. *tii-laju wanarnu right-up*
CONJ-1plexS road-PA follow-PST then DEM-1plexS follow-PST right-up

ngapi-kutu, Catfish.Tank-kutu, Kaningara you.know. 59. *Ya-nu jii-janu*
HES-ALL place.name-ALL place.name you.know go-PST DEM-ABL

ya-nu purtu parra-ngu-laju-ra road-ku parra-nyanga-ma
go-PST in.vain around-PST-1plexS-3sgDAT road-DAT around-see-PSTIMP

ngurrin-ma. 60. *Ya-nu-laju kankani pamarr-ja-laju ngara-ngu*
search-PSTIMP go-PST-1plexS above hill-LOC-1plexS stand-PST

61. *Malaku-laju tirrirtika-nu.* 62. *Kayili-laju ya-nu.* 63. *Purtu-laju-ra*
return-1plexS descent-PST north-1plexS go-PST in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT

jina watijunku-ti-ngu. 64. *Road-kutu-laju-ra ya-nu ya-un ya-nu*
track track-ACT-PST road-ALL-1plexS-3sgDAT go-PST go-PST go-PST

ya-nu ya-un 65. *Purtu-laju-ra jina-ku watiju-nu road-ku*
go-PST go-PST in.vain-1plexS-3sgDAT track-DAT track-PST road-DAT

mutika-ku. 66. *Nothing. Maral-pa.*
vehicle(K)-DAT NEG(K) nothing-PA

56. From the Road Camp we went on 57. and followed the road for a very long way. 58. It was just like we followed it all the way to Catfish Tank, you know. 59. From there we went on again, then we looked around but couldn't find the road. 60. We went up and stopped on top of a hill, 61. Then we went down again. 62. We went north and 63. looked around unsuccessfully for the road. 64. We went on and on [looking] for the road. 65. We couldn't track down that road. 66. There was nothing.

The Flourbag Dress

Nada Rawlins

This is a description of a dress made by the speaker. The dress is a reproduction of the dresses made from flourbags and worn by Wangkajunga women when they first came to the cattle stations in the southern Kimberley region. The speaker is a mature woman whose first language is Wangkajunga.

1. *Yuwayi turrirti-lampaju-ya mintim-ma-rnun station-ta nyukurni*
yes dress(K)-1plDAT-3plS sew(K)-CAUS-PST station-LOC before
ngurra-ku. 2. *Wiya-laju-ra ninti flourbag then.* 3. *Flourbag-laju*
ignorant-DAT NEG-1plexS-3sgDAT knowledge flourbag then flourbag-1plexS
mintim-ma-nun-pa-lampaju-ya, 4. *yu-ngun-pa-lanyaju-ya wirrim-ju-nun*
sew-CAUS-PST-PA-1plexDAT-3plS give-PST-PA-1plexO-3plS wear(K)-CAUS-PST
turrirti, Purlta-lu, Jukuja-lu Yurpara-lu, Milykinyungu-lu, an Nyinyanga-lu
dress(K) name-ERG name-ERG name-ERG name-ERG CONJ name-ERG
5. *An karlki-ya miitu, wiya, wiya-rri-ngu* 6. *Mintim-ma-rnun-pa-lanyaju-ya*
CONJ other-3plS dead NEG NEG-INCH-PST sew-CAUS-PST-PA-1plexO-3plS
yu-ngun-pa. 7. *Wituka-lampaju-ya wani-rnun palunya-rti-lu.* 8. *They-bin*
give-PST-PA as.well-1plDAT-3plS cut-PST DEM-PL-ERG they-PST(K)
cutt-ing 9. *An yu-ngun-pa-lanyaju-ya,* 10. *ka-laju mintim-ma-nun-pa*
cutting CONJ(E) give-PST-PA-1plexO-3plS CONJ-1plexS sew-CAUS-PST-PA
na. 11. *Ninti-ju-nun-pa-lanyaju-ya, ninti-ma-nun palunya-rti-lu*
then know-CAUS-PA-1plexO-3plS know-CAUS-PST DEM-PL-ERG
1. Okay, they made dresses for us, in the old days on the station, when we didn't know [how to sew]. 2. We didn't know [about clothing], only about flourbags 3. Flourbags, they sewed flourbags for us. 4. Purlta, Jukuja, Yurpara, Milykinyungu and Nyinyanga gave us the dresses to wear. 5. And some others who have passed away, 6. They sewed the dresses and gave them to us. 7. They are the ones who cut them out as well. 8. They were cutting them out for us. 9. And they gave them to us. 10. And then we sewed. 11. They taught us, the ones I mentioned taught us.
12. *Wiya material-pa yangka warinka-ngun kartiya-kurangu turirri-nguninji*
NEG material(E)-PA DEM arrive-PST European-POSS dress(E)-FOC
palya, ngaa-yuru 13. *only flourbag, nyukurni, nyukurni, flourbag*
good DEM-SIM only(E) flourbag before before flourbag
14. *wiyaju-ya mintim-ma-nun, ngurra,* 15. *wiya-lampaju mitriyal-pa*
only-3plS sew-CAUS-PST ignorance NEG-1plexDAT material(E)-PA
warinka-ngun-pa-janampa 16. *only flourbag.* 17. *Pulawa-janu, yangka*
arrive-PST-PA-3plDAT only(E) flourbags flour-ABL DEM
pawu-nun-pa-ya kankani ngapi-lu, 18. *mayi-ya pawu-nun you know*
cook-PST-PA-3plS up HES-ERG bread-3plS cook-PST you know
tuju-lu flour. 19. *An pulawajii ka-ngun flourbag kanin-jarra-kurra.*
woman-ERG flour CONJ flour DEM take-PST flour.bag down-ASST-ALL
20. *Yu-ngun-pa-jananya kartiya-lu.* 21. *Minti-ma-nun-pa-yilta-ya.*
give-PST-PA-3plO European-ERG sew-CAUS-PST-PA-then-3plS
22. *Jiji-ku-too-laju-janampa mintin-ma-nun lamparn-lamparn turrirti,*
child-DAT-too(E)-1plexS-3plDAT sew-CAUS-PST small-RDP dress

jiji-kunu kuyun-kuyun, lamparn 23. *No nganayi kimpi* 24. *Wiya, ani*
 child-DAT small-RDP small NEG HES baby.napkin NEG only(E)

jii-ngulyu. 25. *Jurrulungu-ya-janampa waka-rnun, trousers jiji-ku*
 DEM-CERT trousers-3plS-3plDAT cut-PST trousers(E) child-DAT

murtilya-ku jiji-ku, you know.
 boy-DAT child-DAT you know(E)

12. Not the nice material that came for the European women's dresses, like this. 13. Only flourbags, in the old days, the old days, 14. In ignorance, they only sewed flourbags, 15. Not their material that was ordered for them, 16. only flourbags, 17. from the flour that they cooked up [at the homestead], uh, 18. the women cooked the bread, you know, the flour, 19. and they took that flour, the flourbags, down to the camp. 20. The manager gave it to them, 21. and then they sewed with it. 22. We made them for children too, little dresses, small children's clothes. 23. There were no Kimbys then, 24. None, only those, [the homemade ones]. 25. Little pants, they cut out trousers for the kids, the little boys, you know.

26. *parri-parri-ku yangka murtilya-murtilya-laju-jananya waja-nin murtilya*
 boy-RDP-DAT DEM boy-RDP-1plexS-3plO say-PRES boy

jiji puntu-nguninji minarli. 27. *We call-im minarli parri Yuwayi.*
 child Aboriginal-FOC boy we(E) say(K) boy boy(WAL) AFF

28. *Palunya-laju-janampa waka-rnun-pa-janampa ninti-lu-nguninji.*
 DEM-1plexS-3plDAT cut-PST-PA-3plDAT know-ERG-FOC

29. *Wirrim-ju-nun-pa-jananya jiji-ngka jii-ngka.* 30. *Wituka-lu*
 wear-CAUS-PST-3plO child-LOC DEM-LOC also-ERG

karrpi-rnun-pa-jananya jii-ngulyu pulawa-janu 31. *An sometime*
 tie.up-PST-PA-3plO DEM-CERT flour-ABL CONJ sometime

ngulampakarra, kimpi-na warinkarti-ngu-janampa like.a ngapi
 later baby.napkin-FOC arrive-PST-3plDAT like.a HES

wayitwan prapa kimpi-nga, 32. *napkin-pa-nyu* 33. *napkin-pa*
 white real(K) baby.napkin-FOC napkin(E)-PA-REP napkin(E)-PA

waringkarti-ngu jiji-kurnu baby-ku. 34. *an parna-ngka-pa-ya-jananya*
 arrive-PST child-POSS baby-DAT CONJ(E) ground-LOC-PA-3plS-3plO

ngarriju-nun jiji-nga jii-nga 35. *Yuti-rri-ngun-pa-ya, parna-ngka*
 lie-CAUS-PST child-FOC DEM-FOC appear-ICNH-PST-PA-3plS ground-LOC

36. *no blanket no mattress, no ngapi hospital.* 37. *Ngayu-kurnu-kujarra-pula*
 no(E) blanket no mattress no HES hospital(E) 1sg-POSS-DUAL-3dIS

jiji-kujarra yuti-rri-ngu parna-ngka
 child-DUAL appear-INCH-PST ground-LOC

38. *An laltu, laltu-ya yuti-rri-ngu jiji jii martaji-kurnu parna-ngka.*
 CONJ lots lots-3plS appear-INCH-PST child DEM country-POSS ground-LOC

39. *Wiya blanket-ja like.a bed-ja-jananya kanyin-in kuwarri hospital-ta*
 NEG blanket-LOC like.a bed-LOC-3plO have-PRES today hospital-LOC

40. *no hospital, hospital-parni station-ta.*
 NEG(E) hospital hospital-PRIV station-LOC

26. for the little ‘*parri*’, the ones we call ‘*murtilya*’, the little Aboriginal boys. 27. We say ‘*minarli*’, little boys. 28. Those women who knew how to sew cut them out for them. 29. The kids wore those. 30. And they used that cotton from the flourbag to tie them on. 31. And sometime, later, the real white nappies came for them. 32. Napkins, they’re called. 33. Baby’s napkins arrived, 34. and the babies had to lie on the ground. 35. They were born on the ground. 36. no blanket, no mattress, no, um, hospital, 37. My own two children were born on the ground. 38. A lot of children from this country were born on the ground. 39. There were no blankets like they have on beds these days. 40. There were no hospitals on the stations.

***Jirntirr-jirntirrpa* ‘Willy Wagtail’**

Nada Rawlins

This is an informal description of a pencil illustration of a bird and five figures in a traditional windbreak, a sandhill and two adult figures with hunting implements. The speaker is a mature woman whose first language is Wangkajunga.

1. *Ngaa-ya jiji-wiyaju nyin-in-pa yurlta-ngka.* 2. *maitbi-pula yipi*
 DEM-3plS child-only stay-PRES-PA in.camp-LOC maybe-3dlS mother
- kamu mama ya-nu, kuka-kutu.* 3. *Kuka-pula pung-in-pa, pubala,*
 CONJ father go-PST game-ALL game-3dlS hit-PRES-PA dear.things(K)
4. *Maitbi-pula hunting-pa ya-nu, wartil-pa.* 5. *Wartil-pa-pula ya-nu.*
 maybe-3dlS hunting-PA go-PST hunting-PA hunting-PA-3dlS go-PST
6. *Well, maitbi-janampa jiriki jii palunya-rti-ku,* 7. *ngaa turru, ngapi*
 well maybe-3plDAT bird DEM DEM-PL-DAT DEM bird um
- jirntirr-jirntirr-pa.* 8. *Nyina-ti-ngu-jananya jiji-paraku-ngka.* 9. *kujupa*
 willy wagtail-RDP-PA sit-ACT-PST-3plO child-FEW-LOC another
- ngarr-in-pa yalta,* 10. *mimi-kurlu.* 11. *Yupal-kujupa-ya, ngarr-in-pa-ya*
 lie-PRES-PA cold sick-HAV few-another-3plS lie-PRES-PA-3plS
- parnparn-ja, wungku-ngka.* 12. *waru tii-ngka-janampa, waru,*
 warmth-LOC windbreak-LOC fire DEM-LOC-3plDAT fire
13. *waru-janampa kamp-in-pa* 14. *kutu-kujarra-kutu-kujarra-ya ngarr-in,*
 fire-3plDAT burn-PRES-PA middle-two-middle two-3plS lie-PRES
- wungku-ngka* 15. *ngaa-yila-janampa jirntirr-jirntirr-pa ya-nin*
 windbreak-LOC DEM-then-3plDAT willy wagtail-RDP-PA go-PRES
- nyina-ti-n kurtun-ja-puru, kulirr-ja-puru malakarti.*
 sit-ACT-PRES sleep-LOC-TEMP sleep-LOC-TEMP behind

1. In this [picture] only the kids are in the camp. 2. Their mother and father might have gone hunting. 3. They’re hunting game, dear little things. 4. Perhaps, they’re hunting. 5. Yes, they went hunting. 6. And this might be a bird for them, 7. this bird, this uh, willy

wagtail. 8. It sat down behind the kids. 9. One [of the kids] is cold. 10. He's sick. 11. The others are lying in the warmth of the windbreak. 12. There's their fire. 13. The fire is warming them. 14. They are lying two by two in the windbreak. 15. And then this willy wagtail comes and stays behind them when they sleep.

16. *Ya-nu-pula* 17. *parra-pula* *pu-ngu.* 18. *Malaku-pula* *ya-nin.*
go-PST-3dIS around-3dIS hit-PST return-3dIS go-PRES

19. *Ngaa-yilapa-ya* *parnparn-ja* *ngarr-in,* *jiji-nga.* 20. *Jii-jananya*
DEM-then-3plS warmth-LOC lie-PRES child-FOC DEM-3plO

parra-wangu-rri-ti-n-pa *ngapi,* *jirntirr-jirntirr-pa* *malakarti,*
around-wag-INCH-ACT-PRES-PA HES willy wagtail-RDP-PA behind

yanga murrani *parra-yana-ma* *palunya-jura,* 21. *Ngaa kamu* *parra-yan-in,*
DEM always around-go-PSTIMP DEM-1sgABL DEM CONJ around-go-PRES

jirntirr-jirntirr-pa, *wangu-rri-ra* *nyina-payi.* 22. *An,* *malaku-pula*
willy.wagtail-RDP-PA wag-INCH-SER sit-PSTHAB-CHAR CONJ return-3dIS

yan-in-pa, 23. *kuka-kurlu-pula-jananya* *kati-ku* *yu-ngku* *jiji* *ngaa- n-pa*
go-PRES-PA game-HAV-3dIS-3plO take-FUT give-FUT child DEM-PL-PA

24. *Yawi,* *mulcurr-pa-ya,* *ngarri-n-pa-ya,* 25. *parnparn-ja-ya* *ngarri-n.*
INTJCTN hunger-PA-3plS lie-PRES-PA-3plS warmth-LOC-3plS lie-PRES

26. *Jirntu-lu-jananya* *wakan-in,* 27. *Yalta* 28. *Ngaa-kujarra-lu-jananya-pula*
sun-ERG-3plO strike-PRES cold DEM-two-ERG-3plO-3dIS

na nyupa-rarra-lu *ju-nu* *ya-un* 29. *Ya-nu-pulaaaa* *kuka,* 30. *ngana*
NA spouse-pair-ERG put-PST go-PST go-PST-3dIS game INDEF

marlu munta-pula *pu-ngu-ka,* *miti* *pawu-rnu* *pawu-rnu* 31. *kat-in-pa,*
NUM might-3dIS hit-PST-COMPL cooked cook-PST cook-PST take-PRES-PA

wana-kurlu, *kurlata-kurlu,* *ngapi-kurlu,* 32. *Ngana-rna* *waja-lku,*
digging stick-HAV spear-HAV HES-HAV what-1sgS say-FUT

marapaku-kurlu
spear thrower-HAV

33. *Yirna* *yan-in,* 34. *tuju* *wana-ra* *kuju,* *tuju-ku*
man go-PRES woman digging.stick-3sgDAT one woman-DAT

piti-ngka-mu. 35. *Nyamu.*
coolamon-LOC-CONJ finish

16. The parents went off. 17. They hunted everywhere. 18. They're coming back. 19. Then these are the children lying in the warmth. 20. That um, willy wagtail is wagging away behind them, that one always goes around behind us. 21. Willy wagtails go around and they wag. 22. Then, the two [parents] are coming back. 23. They will bring food for these kids. 24. Poor things, they're hungry lying here. 25. They're lying in the warmth. 26. The sun is shining on them. 27. It's cold. 28. These two here, their parents, left them. 29. They went for game, 30. How much food could they have hunted and cooked? 31. He's carrying a digging stick, a spear, and um, 32 what'll I say? a spear thrower. 33. The man is coming, 34. The woman has one digging stick and a woman's coolamon. 35. That's all.

Wartilpali yankura ‘Let’s Go Hunting’**Mayapu Elsie Thomas**

This is an informal description of a pencil illustration of stick figures in a traditional windbreak, sandhills, adult figures with hunting implements, wooden dishes filled with water and some trees. The speaker is a mature woman whose first language is Wangkajunga.

1. *Ngarri-ngu-pula yunguny paka-nu nyupa-rarra.* 2. *an witu-rnu-ra*
 lie-PST-3dIS morning get up-PST spouse-PAIR CONJ call over -3plDAT
yiya-rnu kalyu-ku. 3. *‘Ya-rra-ju marnma-la.* 4. *Wartil-pa-li*
 send-PST water-DAT go-IMP-1sgDAT fill.with.water-IMP hunting-PA-1dIS
yanku-ra.’ 5. *Ya-nu-pula marnma-nu marnma-ngka.* 6. *Jiji-jananya-pula*
 go-UNR go-PST-3dIS fill.with.water-PST coolamon-LOC child-3plO-3dIS
ju-un ya-nu mangkaja-ngka. 7. *Kurranyu-janampa-pula nyin-in*
 put-PST go-PST shelter-LOC ahead-3plDAT-3dIS stay-PRES
yipi-ku mama-ku. 8. *Yanu-pula wartilpa.* 9. *Kati-ngu-pula*
 mother-DAT father-DAT go-PST-3dIS hunting take-PST-3dIS
ngumpa-ngka ju-nu, ngumpa-kujarra-ngka kalyu. 10. *Ya-nu-pula.*
 shade-LOC put-PST shade-DUAL-LOC water go-PST-3dIS
 11. *Waljamparra-kujarra-pula ya-nu pung-in-pa kuka.* 12. *Ya-nu-xx*
 separate-dual-3dIS go-PST hit-PRES-PA game go-PRES-xx

1. A husband and wife got up one morning. 2. She called him over to send for water. 3. ‘Go and fill up my water coolamon. 4. Lets go hunting.’ 5. They filled the big water carrying coolamon and went off. 6. They left their children behind in the bush shelter. 7. The children stayed ahead of their mother and father. 8. The two went hunting. 9. They took the water and put it in the shade [of two trees]. 10. They went off. 11. They went separate ways, killing game. 12. She went off.

13. *Parntany-nguninji-rlu jawa-nin-pa piti-ngka jalapa-ku*
 woman-FOCUS-ERG dig-PRES-PA hole-LOC lizard-DAT
kujarra-ngka kati-xx, 14. *Jii-ngka-ra jawa-nin,*
 two -LOC take-xx DEM-LOC-3sgDAT dig-PRES
pu-ngku-ra-kija-lu. 15. *Malaku-pula ya-nu.* 16. *Parra-pula*
 hit-IRR-UNR-INT-ERG return-3dIS go-PST around-3dIS
pu-ngu kuka. 17. *Ya-nu-pula ngumpa-ngka nyina-ti-ngu.*
 hit-PST game go-PST-3dIS shade-LOC sit-ACT-PST
 18. *Kalyu-pula yurra-lu jikin-in.* 19. *An pawurn-in-pa-pula kuka.*
 water-3dIS thirst-ERG drink-PRES and cook-PRES-PA-3dIS meat
 20. *Malaku-janampa-pula jiji-ku kati-xx mangkaja-kutu ngurra-kutu*
 return-3plDAT-3dIS child-DAT take-xx shelter-ALL home-ALL

21. *Pawu-rnu-pula* *ngumpa-ngka.* 22. *Nyinangu-pula* *pawu-rnu*
 cook-PST-3dIS shade-LOC sit-PST-3dIS cook-PST
yunmi-rri-ngu. 23. *Kuka-pula* *ma-nu* *takurlju-nu.*
 burn-INCH-PST meat-3dIS get-PST put.in-PST
 24. *Kuka-pula,* *ngala-ngu-pula* *ngumpa-nguru-lu,* *paka-rnu-pula.*
 meat-3dIS eat-PST-3dIS shade-ABL-ERG get up-PST-3dIS
 25. *Malaku-janampa-pula* *jiji-ku* *kati-n-pa* *kuka* *laltu.*
 return-3plDAT-3dIS child-DAT take-PRES-PA meat lots

13. It is the woman who is digging in the hole for a red coloured lizard, in the two holes, take xx. 14. She is digging in there because she really wants to kill it. 15. The two of them returned. 16. They had hunted everywhere for game. 17. Then they went and sat down in the shade. 18. They're drinking the water thirstily and 19. they're cooking the meat. 20. They will take it back for their children at home in the bough shade. 21. They cooked the meat in the shade. 22. They sat and cooked it until it was done. 23. They got the meat and put it into [the coolamon]. 24. They ate some meat in the shade and then they left. 25. They are taking lots of meat back for their children.

26. *Palunya-ya* *jiji* *ngalpu-rri-in-pa-ya* *tali-ngka.*
 DEM-3plS child play-INCH-PRES-PA-3plS sandhill-LOC
 27. *Nyang-in-pa-pulampa-ya* *yipi-ku,* *mama-ku,* 28. *'Nyarra-pula*
 see-PRES-PA-3dIDAT-3plS mother-DAT father-DAT DEM-3dIS
yan-in-pa-wu!' 29. *Kuka-kurlu-ku-pulampa-ya* *kulyakanyi-lku,* 30. *'yipi*
 go-PRES-PA-VOC game-HAV-DAT-3dIDAT-3plS wait-FUT mother
mama-pula *nyarra* *yan-in-pa-rni* *malaku'.* 31. *Yurrilyjarra-janu*
 father-3dIS DEM go-PRES-PA-DIR return drink.halfway-ABL
kuka-janampa-pula *punga-ma.* 32. *Piti-ngka-pula* *kalyu-pula* *jiki-nu*
 game-3plDAT-3dIS hit-PSTIMP hole-LOC-3dIS water-3dIS drink-PST
wiya-rnu *ka* 33. *ma-nu-pula* *takurljun-in-pa* *piti-ngka* *jarlu-ngka*
 finish-PST CONJ get-PST-3dIS put.into-PRES-PA dish-LOC big-LOC
minyirri. 34. *Malaku-janampa-pula* *kat-in-pa* *jiji-ku* *yurlta-janu-ku*
 very return-3plDAT-3dIS take-PRES-PA child-DAT in.camp-ABL-DAT
 35. *Nyarra-ya-pulampa* *mala-nyang-in-pa* *kuka-kurlu-ku* *laltu-kurlu-ku.*
 DEM-3plS-3dIDAT back-look-PRES-PA game-HAV-DAT lots-HAV-DAT
 36. *Malaku-janampa-pula* *kat-in-pa* *ngurra-kutu,* *mangkaja-ngka,* *kuka*
 return-3plDAT-3dIS take-PRES-PA camp-ALL shelter-LOC game
nga-lku-ra *xx*
 eat-IRR-UNR *xx*

26. Those children are playing in the sandhills. 27. They see their mother and father in the distance. 28. 'They're coming!' 29. They're waiting for the ones with the meat. 30. 'There's Mum and Dad coming back this way.' 31. They have been hunting after they had a halfway drink. 32. They drank all the water in the coolamon and then put [the food] into the very big wooden dish. 33. They are taking it back for their children who are in the

camp. 34. They [the children] are looking out for the ones with all the meat. 36. They are taking it back to camp to eat the meat at the shelter.

37. *Kati-ra-janampa-pula laltu ju-nku-ra.* 38. *Laltu-janampa-pula kuka*
 take-SER-3plDAT-3dIS lots give-IRR-UNR lots-3plDAT-3dIS game
pu-ngu minyawu, kamu miyawu, ngapi, parnaparnti. 39. *Ngana-partu*
 hit-PST cat and cat HES goanna INDEF-TYPE
ngana-partu kuka? 40. *jalapa* 41. *jantu-lurrju wirta marrany-pa-janampa-pula*
 INDEF-TYPE game lizards dingo-as.well dog dingo-PA-3plDAT-3dIS
waka-rnu. 42. *Malaku-janampa-pula kati-ku pinyi-lku.* 43. *laltu-ya ngalku-la*
 spear-PST return-3plDAT-3dIS take-FUT gobble-FUT lots-3plS eat-SER
nyina-ra.
 stay-SER

37. They are taking lots of it to give them. 38. They have hunted lots of game, cats, cats and, um, goannas. 39. What sort, what sort of game? 40. Red-coloured lizards, 41. also dingoes, dogs, dingoes, they speared for them. 42. They are taking it back for them to gobble up. 43. They'll have lots to eat.

Wangkajunga–English wordlist

The two lists, Wangkajunga to English and English to Wangkajunga, are part of a larger word list compiled for community use. They have been slightly adapted and published as *Ngaapa Wangka Wangkajunga* (Kimberley Language Resource Centre 2001). In the compilation of the lists I have aimed for the use of non-technical English.

J

jaatu where
jakajaka weak
jakampa a leaf used for medicine
jalalpi a bettong, a rat kangaroo
jalapa a blue-tongue lizard
jaliny(pa) sharp
jalirr(pa) bush onion
jalpintaari a bird similar to a swallow
jalpiny(pa) yellow flowers with edible nectar
jalurli a blue-tongue lizard
jalyi a big shade tree
jalyirr(pa) leaf
jalyirrkarraja King Brown snake
jalypa stone spear head
jamartany(pa) a fig tree
jamayan(pa) axe
jaminykurlu bereaved person
jamirnti a small kangaroo
jamirti cousin
jampiyinti a possum
jampukarti Northern Nailtail Wallaby
jamu grandfather, grandson
jamurarra two people in a grandfather and grandson relationship
janapirlki a kitehawk
jangalany(pa) fire, firewood
jankawillarri nectar, sugar
jantirri plain
jantu blankets, swag, belongings

janturntu a paperbark tree
japaru edible ant eggs
japiya edible black seed
jara shield
jarangka a Hakea tree
jarany Rasptail Lizard
jarla spit, saliva
jarlpujarlpu clumsy
jarlu big, heavy
jarna back
jarni bush honey
jarntu Dingo
jarralakari Crested Pigeon
jarrampayi a large goanna
jarrawan(pa) bush onion
jarrin(pa) spirit, conception totem
jarrnga ladder
jarrpanin(pa) enter
jarru guts
jartapirupa bush orange
jartiminamina a bat
jatarlu Cork tree, Coolamon tree
jawajawa horse
jawanin(pa) dig
jii that
jiin(pa) those
jiji child, baby
jikilyjikily(pa) a sweet potato
jikin(pa) drink
Jilajin Wangkatjungka Community
jilka prickle

jilpuny(pa) mug
jina foot
jinawantu spirit
jinjiwirrin(pa) fruit similar to a cape
 gooseberry
jinpiljinpira a small snake
jinta bridge of the nose
jintalpi a small lizard
jipari a wattle tree
jira fat
jiriki general word for bird
jirilypaja a long thin edible root
jirliwa vein, tendon
jirlpi grey hair, old person with grey hair
jirntirrirntirr Willy Wagtail
jirntu sun
jirralyanin(pa) slip, slide
jirrjirrpungka an edible seed
jirrmily(pa) sweat
Jitapuru Wangkatjunga Community
jitari a snake
juku small, short
jukujuku very small
jukurru bush orange
juljul(pa) a hole dug in a creek bed for water
julyarraji stockman
junanjunan(pa) legless lizard
junga straight
jungakarti right side of the body
juni belly
junijarra pregnant
junta thigh
junturta bushy
jurnjurn(pa) brain
jurnta bush onion
jurnti cave
jurnu waterhole
jurtu sister
jurtul(pa) dust
jurtun(pa) antbed
jurturangu rainbow
jutu blunt
juwal(pa) long

K

kaalyanin(pa) break
kaanu small lizards
kaarnka crow
kaja son
kajamarr(pa) an edible frog
kaka uncle
kakarra east
kakarrarturl(pa) marsupial mole
kalan(pa) Hare Wallaby
kaliny(pa) hip
kalkal(pa) a bandicoot
kalumpi hip
kalyu water, rain
kalyukarraja fish, duck, any animal that lives
 in water
kalyukarrapinti fishing line
kalyupuru rain season
kampin(pa) heat
kamuru uncle
kanaja wet weather shelter
kaninkanin underneath
kaninjarra down, below
kanji thigh
kanjilyi fruit similar to cape gooseberry
kankani up
kantamal(pa) a small lizard
kantunin(pa) bump, stamp, tread, dance
kanturr(pa) bush with edible seeds
kanyinin(pa) have, hold
kapukurri dream
kara salt water
Karimara section or skin group
karlaya emu
karlayin(pa) a wattle tree
karli boomerang
karlijita a grass with edible seeds
karliwan(pa) a tree similar to Native Bauhinia
karlkajirri lower back, lower part of the body
karlkin(pa) others
karlparr(pa) back of neck
karluwayi honey
karnpaku clapsticks
karntawarra yellow
karnti a bush yam, also known as bush potato
karrkarr(pa) pain

<i>karrkata</i>	gravy	<i>kulirr(pa)</i>	sleep
<i>karrku</i>	red	<i>kulkal(pa)</i>	cheek, side of face
<i>karrpilpayi</i>	policeman, lit: person who ties up s.th or s.o.	<i>kuluny(pa)</i>	baby, small child, puppy, kitten
<i>karrpinin(pa)</i>	tie up	<i>kuluwa</i>	light rain, cold weather rain
<i>karrpu</i>	day	<i>kulyakanyinin(pa)</i>	wait
<i>karrpujarra</i>	daytime	<i>kumpu</i>	urine
<i>karrpukujupangka</i>	another day	<i>kumpupaja</i>	bush tomato
<i>karru</i>	river, creek	<i>kumunjayi</i>	name or label used to replace a word which is taboo
<i>karrukarru</i>	track, path	<i>kumurl(pa)</i>	cicatrise
<i>kartal(pa)</i>	burrow	<i>kunanturu</i>	a Hakea tree
<i>kartiya</i>	white person	<i>kungkala</i>	firesticks
<i>karu</i>	short fighting spear	<i>kuniya</i>	a snake
<i>kata</i>	head	<i>kurntumaru</i>	a black goanna
<i>kataputa</i>	Mountain Devil	<i>kuparta</i>	an edible seed
<i>katinin(pa), katin(pa)</i>	carry, bring, take	<i>Kupartiya</i>	formerly Bohemia Downs Station
<i>katuma</i>	stone knife	<i>kupulu</i>	fighting stick
<i>kawajuwal(pa)</i>	camel	<i>kura</i>	faeces
<i>kawalkawal(pa)</i>	a plant that camels eat	<i>kurljulkurljul(pa)</i>	oesophagus
<i>kawan</i>	forgetful	<i>Kurku</i>	community south of Christmas Creek Station
<i>kawankawan(pa)</i>	stupid, mad	<i>kurlpa</i>	vomit
<i>kayili</i>	north	<i>kurlpajunin(pa)</i>	vomit (the action)
<i>kiimi</i>	a red fruit	<i>kurlpan(pa)</i>	an edible seed
<i>kilijirti</i>	‘porcupine’, Echidna	<i>kurltu</i>	upper part of the body
<i>kiliki</i>	creek, river	<i>kurlu</i>	question word
<i>kilikurlu</i>	‘porcupine’, Echidna	<i>kurlukuku</i>	a pigeon
<i>kilinykiliny(pa)</i>	Galah	<i>kurnangki</i>	a fig tree
<i>kilu</i>	mouse	<i>kurnka</i>	raw
<i>kilyirr(pa)</i>	hot coals	<i>kurntayi</i>	ashamed, embarrassed
<i>kinil(pa)</i>	mucous	<i>kurnti</i>	fighting stick
<i>kinilpungin(pa)</i>	cough	<i>kurranyu</i>	ahead
<i>kinkin(pa)</i>	a lorikeet	<i>kurrkali</i>	Brolga
<i>kinti</i>	close	<i>kurrkapi</i>	Desert Oak tree
<i>kipilyuk</i>	a duck	<i>kurrupartu</i>	type of boomerang
<i>kirralpungin(pa)</i>	knock against	<i>kurta</i>	brother
<i>kirriji</i>	single person	<i>kurtarra</i>	two brothers
<i>kitikiti</i>	armpit	<i>kurtayimanin(pa)</i>	knead
<i>kujanin(pa)</i>	light (the action)	<i>kurtun(pa)</i>	asleep
<i>kujarra</i>	two	<i>kuru</i>	eye
<i>kuju</i>	one, alone	<i>kurukumpu</i>	a goanna
<i>kujupa</i>	another	<i>Kurungal</i>	Wangkatjungka Community
<i>kujurntu</i>	a bush potato	<i>kururily(pa)</i>	emu
<i>kuka</i>	meat	<i>kururrungku</i>	Northern Nailtail Wallaby,
<i>kukurr(pa)</i>	ghost	<i>kuruwala</i>	an eagle
<i>kukurtutu</i>	thunder	<i>kutparuparu</i>	a magpie
<i>kurlarta</i>	spear	<i>kutungka</i>	middle
<i>kulinin(pa)</i>	listen		

kuwarr(pa) a wattle tree with edible seeds
kuwarri now, today
kuyurn(pa) girl

L

laltu many
langa plain, flat land
lapa a white cockatoo
larrja King Brown snake
larrkarti Boab tree
larrku valley between the sandhills
lilalila a sugary deposit on leaves
liluly(pa) poker, stick for shifting food in the coals
liplip woman's dance
lirrajapal(pa) a frog
lukarrara a type of spinifex with edible seeds
lukarti a fruit found near billabongs
luku heel
lukurti an edible grub
lungkarr Black-footed Wallaby
lungkun(pa) a wattle tree with edible seeds
lungkurta a blue-tongue lizard
lungminka a blue-tongue lizard
luurnpa a kingfisher

M

maaja boss
maayanin(pa) go away
majapurti an edible puffball
makura coolamon
mala Rufous Hare Wallaby
malakati behind
malaku return
malayi tree with red seeds
malngirri lightning
malpa friend, mate
malpu devil, evil spirit
malyurta middle children of the family
mama father
mamararra two people in a father and child relationship
mamatura thumb, big toe
mamu devil, evil spirit, ghost

manarral(pa) a gecko
mangka hair
mangkaja wet weather shelter
mangkawala hat
mangu bush
mangul type of spear
manguri grass circle placed on the head to help balance a coolamon
manin(pa) get
manjal(pa) an edible seed
mankarrpurru tree with white trunk
mankurr(pa) three
mantalyu an edible puffball
mantararr marsupial mole
mantirri sister-in-law
manyal(pa) spinifex gum
maparn(pa) doctor
mara hand
marajan(pa) an edible seed
maraljartu a herb similar to curry
maramaranin(pa) crawl
marangu grinding stone
marapaku spear thrower
marapanti a rock fig
malaju younger brother or sister
malakarti behind
malangu younger brother or sister
marlu large red kangaroo
marnkal(pa) a type of spinifex with edible seeds
marnma coolamon for scooping and carrying water
marnti boy
marntila edible sap or gum
marrany(pa) Dingo
marrku thirsty
martarr(pa) red ochre
marti axe
maru black
mawu back
mawuntu a large goanna
mawuntu white
mayakarti right side of the body
mayi bread and other vegetable foods
mayuru house
mijiji white woman
mijinin(pa) hook up

mikumiku lovely, beautiful
Milangka section or skin group
miliki liver
miljirr(pa) a paperbark tree
milpiny(pa) fingernail, toenail
milyilyi brain
mimi sore, sick
mina nest
minarli boy
mingajurru a bandicoot found in the sandhill
minijarti a blue-tongue lizard
minjil(pa) orphan
minjilminjil(pa) a kangaroo
minti charcoal
minti coals
minyawu cat
minyili a small fruit similar to a cape
 gooseberry
minyuparnta a bettong, a rat kangaroo
mirlimirli paper, book
mirna arm
mirrka vegetable food
mirrmirrmanin(pa) shiver
mirrpi rib
mirta rabbit
mirtuluju Rabbit-eared Bandicoot, Greater
 Bilby
miti cooked, ripe
mitily(pa) still, quiet
miitu dead
mulany(pa) an edible root
Mularr(pa)! True!
mulkamulka cheek
mulkurr(pa) hungry
mulumaru Gould's Goanna, Sand Monitor
mulunturu a tree with edible seeds
mulya nose
mulyamaru Black-headed python
munarta ear
mungajarra night time
mungku antbed
munkarra further
munkumunku heart
munta what
muntanin(pa) grab
munuka different
munyanki a mouse

munyurn(pa) a small black fruit like a plum
murlurr(pa) pupil of the eye
murrani always
murrjanin(pa) chew
murrjn(pa) thin
murrkangunya eldest child of the family
murrpu backbone
murru boil, swelling
murti knee
murtilya boy
murtitkil(pa) camel
murungkurr(pa) dwarf-like spirits
mutalka coccyx, tail bone
mutika vehicle
mutirr(pa) bottom lip, chin

N

nalija tea
nanpu a frog
nantirr(pa) strong, hard
narnngujarra hooked spear
ngaa this
ngaan(pa) these
ngapi um
ngaarn(pa) an edible grass seed
ngakalyalya Major Mitchell Cockatoo
ngalanin(pa) eat
ngalarra willy-willy, strong wind
ngalunin(pa) hold
ngalya face
ngalyangamuka cat
ngalyawiltirr(pa) Death Adder
ngalyilka a small edible mushroom
ngampa those parents
ngampu egg
ngana what
nganajanu where from
nganamalu how many
nganapartu which, what type
nganayi um
nganayuru what kind, like what
nganjarr(pa) outside, apart
nganju tendons
nganka sky
ngankarli cloud

ngankurr(pa) jaw
ngaparri by oneself, alone
ngaparrnguru around
ngapurlu breast
Ngaranjartu Ngarantjadu, a community south of Christmas Creek Station
ngarirri bank
ngarlngarl(pa) a possum
ngarlpurrin(pa) play
ngarlukutu edible insect gall, bush coconut
ngarrin(pa) stay, lie
ngarrka chest
ngartan(pa) flower
ngartalyanin(pa) crack, break
ngatamunkumunku a pigeon
ngatangata meet halfway
ngawarrarra further south
ngawutaka small plum-like fruit
ngaya cat
ngayu I, me
ngayukujarra we two, us two
ngayun(pa) we, us
ngijirri firestick
ngilypi old woman
nginti tail
nginu ‘porcupine’, Echidna
ngiyari Mountain Devil
ngula later
ngulkulku cat
ngulyku chin
ngumpa shade
Ngumpan a community on Christmas Creek Station near the main highway
ngumul(pa) boy
ngunjungunju moustache, beard
ngunjurr(pa) smoke
ngunku elbow
ngunyarri woman’s daughter-in-law
ngulu afraid
ngurnti shoulder
ngurra home
ngurrngurr(pa) pig
ngurupa don’t know
ngurrinin(pa) search
nguunmanin(pa) snore
nguwa ground, dirt, sand
nguyu raw

nguyumpara firewood
ninti clever, knowing
nintijulpayi teacher
nintijunin(pa) teach
nintiwajalpayi teacher
ninu Rabbit-eared Bandicoot, Greater Bilby
nyaaliny tongue
Nyarrru Poor thing
Nyamawu Goodbye
nyampal(pa) soft, light
Nyamu Finish
nyangin(pa) look
nyangula when
nyanka back of neck
nyanmi a type of spinifex
nyanpin(pa) eyebrow, eyelash
nyanpipungin(pa) dance (women)
nyarra over there
nyilan(pa) edible ant eggs
nyilka a wattle tree
nyimin(pa) rib
nyimparra traditional covering for pubic area, pants, petticoat
Nyinamayawu. Stay there, Goodbye.
nyinanin(pa) sit
nyinimin(pa) rib
nyinin(pa) sit
nyinji tail bone
nyinjiirri Rasptail Lizard
nyinkurlu a small lizard
nyirrjartu a wattle tree with edible seeds
nyirti youngest child in the family
nyirunyiru blunt
nyukurni before, a long time ago
nyumil(pa) an edible seed
nyumpurl(pa) a white gum tree
nyumuriny(pa) wet
nyunjiny(pa) navel (belly button)
nyunjun(pa) shin, shin bone
nyunma burnt area of ground
nyunnga soft, light
nyunngura nose
nyuntu you
nyuntukujarra you two
nyuntun(pa) all of you
nyupa wife, husband
nyupararra husband and wife, parents

nyuru stomach**P**

pajanin(pa) bite
pakanin(pa) get up
palipungin(pa) find
palja full (with food)
paljarrangu ‘comeback’ boomerang
palunya they, them
palya good, well, lovely
palyanin(pa) make, fix
pampa blind
pampilyi a bush banana
Panaka section or skin group
pangarnu lizard
pangkupirri circle of grass placed on the head to balance a coolamon
panyal(pa) moon
papaku a bat
papartu brother
partiparlti hot
parna ground, dirt, sand
parnaparnti a large goanna
parnparn(pa) area for sitting or lying in warmed by the sun
parntany(pa) old woman
parntarrpi bark (of a tree)
parnti shoulder
parrkaparrka Desert Oak
parrpakanin(pa) fly away
partiri flower
pawunin(pa) cook
pika angry
pikirr(pa) a bush tomato
pilalji widow
pilyal(pa) white ochre
pimiri aunt
pina far
pinjirrmi a bat
pinkirrjarti bush turkey, Australian Bustard
pirlipirli a kite hawk
pirlki mud
pirni shoulder
pirnki cave
pirrka a large goanna

pirti hole*pirtiyamarta* a type of grevillea with a sweet tasting yellow flower*piruwa* bush honey*piti* coolamon large enough for carrying a baby*piyarrku* Galah*piyura* a type of grevillea with a sweet tasting yellow flower*pujurl(pa)* a frog*pujurr(pa)* a small poisonous snake*pukurl(pa)* happy*pukurlpukurl(pa)* very happy*pukurrrpirri* a large shade tree*pulaman(pa)* cattle*pulparr(pa)* dry*purlpurrrjunin(pa)* cover up*pulurntarri* a small edible mushroom*pungin(pa)* hit*pungka* a sweet potato*punkanin(pa)* fall*punta* a small river fish*puntu* person, Aboriginal person*punurr(pa)* gecko*pura* a bush potato*pura* a bush tomato*purli* hill, money, rock, stone*purliwarurtu* a bush tomato*purrukupan(pa)* edible sugary deposit on leaves*purrunjarri* a quail*purrunjuru* a quail*purtipurti* bush tobacco*purtu* in vain*puruku* a general word for frog*Purungu* section or skin group*purupuru* a frog*puta* bad, old*putuka* a black-bellied lizard*puyu* smoke**R***rakarra* dawn*ralyuralyu* lungs*raapu* light*ruka* afternoon

rukaruka late afternoon, sunset

T

tajitaji a tree with edible seeds
talakutu bush coconut, edible insect gall
tali sandhill
tari ankle
tarrka bone
tarrkamungul(pa) Crow
tatinin climb up
tii tea
tiiwa far, distant
tikirr(pa) dry
tilingkamiran(pa) gecko
tilpu mother
tilytily orange, red
timana horse
tinjil(pa) Snappy Gum tree
tirran(pa) a black cockatoo
tiyatiya Mudlark, Peewee, Magpie Lark
tuju woman
tumuntumun(pa) mound
tungku swelling, boil
tungkul(pa) hair belt
tupurlngarrin swim, paddle
turlku song
turlpu heart
turru general word for bird
turtujartu Desert Walnut tree

W

wajanin(pa) say
wajarn(pa) spinifex wax
wakanin(pa) spear, poke, write
wakitirri an edible seed
wakungana armband
wala quickly
walak a frog
walawurru an eagle
walja relation
walji a gum tree
waltaki fox
walyarra sugar, sand

walypa wind
wama nectar, tobacco, wine, beer
wamurla a bush tomato
wana digging stick
wananin(pa) follow
wanapari Dingo
wanarl(pa) root
wangka word
wangkanin(pa) speak
wangkarna Crow
wangkin(pa) speak
wangkulyi an edible grass seed
wangu wriggle
wangunu a fine edible seed
wanja where
wankangalku an eagle
wankulyi type of coolamon
Wanti! Leave it! Stop it!
wanturr(pa) blanket, skin, paper
Wanyu Wait a minute, please.
waparnu an eagle
waral(pa) rain
wararn(pa) a gum tree
wararri blanket, swag
warla lake, claypan
warlakarti a big shade tree
warlarri Ghost Gum
warlpukurru long
warna a snake
warnga upper back
warrarn(pa) swamp
Warrawu! Look out!
warrkinin(pa) growl
warrnga upper back
warrpurl(pa) Snappy Gum
warrupunyu an edible grass seed
warta tree, stick, wood
wartalyari a bandicoot
wartil(pa) hunting
waru fire, firewood, matches
watijunin(pa) track (the action)
watpala white person
wayurta a possum
wiily(pa) star
wilja shade
wiljipirnin(pa) cattle
wilura west

wininin(pa) pull
wininiwinini emu chick
winjikirti Rasptail Lizard
winjipirrin(pa) cattle
winkuma a possum
wintarru a bandicoot
wirlka a small goanna
wirlki ‘number seven’ boomerang
wirra type of coolamon used for digging
wirriya happy
wirrja dew
wirrjanin(pa) run
wirrjily(pa) a type of spinifex
wirrminji marsupial mole
wirruly(pa) a small lizard
wirrupungin(pa) throw away
wirta dog
wiruntu kidney
Wiya! No! None!
wujulwujul(pa) narrow
wulkuny(pa) a mouse
wulu always
wumparl(pa) Snappy Gum
wungku windbreak
wurrrkan(pa) a small skink
wurtungu a sweet fruit
wurtuwurtu Northern Nailtail Wallaby
wurtwurt Spotted Nightjar
wuruwuru rain season

Y

yakapuri bush sandals
yakarn(pa) moon
yakirri hair band
yalipuru hot season
yalta cold
yaltapuru cold season
yalu liver
yama sore
yamarla mud
yampaly(pa) damper
yanatawara a gecko
yangkuru ear
yanin(pa) go, come
yaparli grandmother

yaparlirra two people in a grand-mother
 and grand daughter relationship
yapatany(pa) stomach
yapayi grandmother, grand daughter
yapiliny(pa) River Gum
yapurra west
yarnangu body
yarrkirrki a blue-tongue lizard
yaru slowly
yaruma a large goanna
yatarla Emu
yatulungu fighting stick
yatunin(pa) break open
Yawi! Sorry! Poor thing!
yawurta horse
yilanin(pa) pull
yilipi axe
yilkirra a bettong, a rat kangaroo
yilku blood
yilkuyilku red, red ochre
yilpi hair belt
yilta truly
yilu blood
yini name
yininti red seeds
yinkanin(pa) sing
yintanin(pa) pour
yintu hair of head
Yiparrka social section or skin group
yipi mother, mother’s sisters
yipirarra two people in a mother and child
 relationship
yiri rib
yirlil(pa) bush honey
yirlki a bush tomato
yirna man, old man
yirnta permanent waterhole
yirra mouth, teeth
yitirringki bush orange
yiyanin(pa) send
yukiri green
yulanin(pa) cry
yumari mother-in-law, son-in-law
yumpaly(pa) weak, tired
yumu just, that’s how it is
yungin(pa) give
yungkanin(pa) blow, grind, shoot

yunguny(pa) morning, tomorrow

yunmi cooked

yurnturr(pa) cloud

yupal(pa) few

yupuna bush orange

yurra thirsty

yurapiti rabbit

yulparrira south

yurlta being in camp

yurna rotten, smelly

yurntal(pa) daughter, niece

yutuyutu nectar

Yuwa! Yes! OK

English–Wangkajunga wordlist

A

Aboriginal Communities *Jilajin, Jitapuru, Kupartiya, Kurungal, Ngaranjartu, Ngumpun, Wangkatjunga*

Aboriginal person *puntu*
 afraid *ngulu*
 afternoon *ruka, rukajarra*
 afternoon, late *rukaruka*
 ahead *kurranyu*
 alone *kuju, ngaparri*
 angry *pika*
 ankle *tari*
 another *kujupa*
 ant eggs, edible *japaru, nyilan(pa)*
 antbed *jurtun(pa), mungku*
 apart *nganjarr(pa)*
 arm *mirna*
 armband *wakungana*
 armpit *kitikiti*
 around *ngaparrnguru*
 ashamed *kurntayi*
 asleep *kurtun(pa)*
 aunt *pimiri*
 axe *jamayan(pa), marti, yilipi*

B

baby *kuluny(pa), jiji*
 back *jarna, mawu*
 back of neck *karlparr(pa), nyanka*
 back, lower part *karlkajirri*
 back, upper part *warnnga*
 backbone *murrpu*
 bad *puta*

bandicoot *kalkal, mingajurru, wartalyari, wintarru*
 bandicoot, Greater Bilby, Rabbit-eared Bandicoot *mirtuluju, ninu, nyarlku*
 bank *ngarirri*
 bark (of a tree) *parntarrpi*
 bat *jartiminamina, papaku, pinjirri*
 beard *ngunjungunju*
 beautiful *mikumiku*
 beer *wama*
 before *nyukurni*
 behind *malakarti*
 belly *juni*
 belly button *nyunjiny(pa)*
 belongings *jantu*
 below *kaninjarra*
 bettong *jalalpi, minyuparnta, nurtu, yilkirra*
 big *jarlu*
 Bilby *mirtuluju, ninu, nyarlku*
 bird *jiriki, turru*
 bite *pajanin*
 black *maru*
 black-headed snake *kuniya, mulyamaru*
 blanket *wanturr, jantu, wararri*
 blind *pampa*
 blood *yilku*
 bloodwood tree *kurntupungu, kurungu*
 blow *yungkanin(pa)*
 blue-tongue lizard *jalapa, jalurli, lungkurta, lungminka, minijarti, yarrkirri*
 blunt *jutu, nyirunyiru*
 Boab tree *larrkartti*
 body *yarnangu*
 body, lower part *karlkajirri*
 body, right side *mayakarti*
 body, upper part *kurltu*
 Bohemia Downs *Kupartiya*

boil *murru, tungku*
 bone *tarrka*
 book *mirlimirli*
 boomerang *karli*
 boomerang, type of *kurru-partu, paljarrangu, wirliki*
 boss *maaja*
 boy *marnti, minarli, murtilya, ngumulpa*
 brain *milyilyi, jurnjurn(pa)*
 bread *mayi, mirrka*
 break *kaalyanin, ngartalyanin*
 break open *yatunin(pa)*
 breast *ngapurlu*
 bring *katin, katinin(pa)*
 Brolga *kurrkali*
 brother *kurta, papartu*
 brother, pair *kurtararra*
 brother, younger *malaju, malangu*
 bump *kantunin*
 burnt area of ground *nyunma*
 burrow *kartal(pa)*
 bush *mangu*
 bush banana *pampilyi*
 bush coconut *ngarlukutu, talakutu*
 bush gooseberry *jinjiwirrily(pa), kanjilyi, minyili,*
 bush honey *jarni, karluwayi, piruwa, yirlil(pa)*
 bush onion *jalirr(pa), jarrawan(pa), jurnta*
 bush orange *jartapirupa, jukurru, yitirringki, yupuna*
 bush potato *karnti, kujurntu, pungka, pura*
 bush sandals *yakapuri*
 bush tobacco *purtipurti*
 bush tomato *kumpupaja, pikirr(pa), pura, purliwarurtu, wamurla, yirlki*
 bush turkey *pinkirrjarti,*
 bush, type of *kawalkawal(pa),*
 bushy *junturrtu*

C

carry *katinin*
 cave *jurnti, pirnki*
 charcoal *minti*
 cheek *kulkal(pa), mulkamulka*

chest *ngarrka*
 chew *murrjanin*
 child *jiji*
 children, eldest child of the family *murrkangunya*
 children, middle children of the family *malyurta*
 children, youngest child of the family *nyirti*
 chin *ngulyku, mutirr(pa)*
 cicatrise *kumurl(pa)*
 clapsticks *karnpaku*
 claypan *warla*
 clever *ninti*
 climb up *tatinin*
 close *kinti*
 cloud *ngankarli, yurnturr(pa)*
 clumsy *jarlpujarlpu*
 coccyx *mutalka*
 cockatoo, black *tirran(pa)*
 cockatoo, Major Mitchell *ngakalyalya*
 cockatoo, white *lapa*
 cold *yalta*
 cold season *yaltapuru*
 cold weather rain *kuluwa*
 come *yanin*
 cook *pawunin*
 cooked *miti, yunmi*
 Coolamon tree *jatarlu*
 coolamon *makura, marnma, piti, wankulyi, wirra*
 cough (the action) *kinilpungin*
 cousin *jamirti*
 cover up *purlpurjunin*
 crack *ngartalyanin*
 crawl *maramaranin*
 creek *karru, kiliki*
 Crow *kaarnka, tarrkamungul, wangkarna*
 cry *yulanin(pa)*

D

damper *yampaly(pa), mayi, mirrka*
 dance, men *kantunin(pa)*
 dance, women *nyanpipungin*
 dance, women's *liplip*
 daughter *niece*

daughter-in-law, for a woman *ngunyarri*
 dawn *rakarra*
 day *karrpu*
 day, another day *karrpukujupangka*
 daytime *karrpujarra*
 dead *miitu*
 deaf *kawan(pa)*
 Death Adder *ngalyawiltirr, yulurrin(pa)*
 Desert Oak tree *kurrkapi*
 Desert Walnut tree *turtujartu*
 devil *malpu, mamu*
 dew *wirrja*
 different *munuka*
 dig *jawanin(pa)*
 digging stick *wana*
 Dingo *jarntu, marrany(pa), wanapari*
 dirt *nguwa, parna*
 distant *ttiwa*
 doctor *maparn(pa)*
 dog *wirta*
 don't know *ngurru*
 down, below *kaninjarra*
 dream *kapukurri*
 drink *jikin*
 dry *pulparr(pa), tikirr(pa)*
 duck *kipilyuk, kalyukarraja*
 dust *jurtul(pa)*
 dwarf-like spirits *murungkurr*

E

eagle *kuruwala, walawurru, wankangalku, waparnu*
 ear *munarta, yangkuru*
 east *kakarra*
 eat *ngalanin*
 Echidna *kilijirti, kilikurlu, nginu*
 egg *ngampu, kampiny*
 elbow *ngunku*
 embarrassed *kurntayi*
 Emu *karlaya, kururily, yatarla*
 emu chick *wininiwinini*
 enter *jarrpanin(pa)*
 evil spirit *malpu, mamu*
 eye *kuru*

eye, pupil *murlurr*
 eyebrow *nyanpin(pa)*
 eyelash *nyanpin(pa)*

F

face *ngalya*
 face, side of *kulkal(pa)*
 faeces *kura*
 fall *punkanin*
 far *ttiwa, pina*
 fat *jira*
 father *mama*
 father and child pair *mamararra*
 few *yupal(pa)*
 fighting stick *kupulu, kurnti, yatulungu*
 find *palipungin*
 fingernail *milpiny*
 finish *nyamu*
 fire *jangalany, nguyumpara, waru*
 firestick *kungkala, ngijirri*
 firewood *jangalany, nguyumpara, waru*
 fish *kalyukarraja, punta*
 fishing line *kalyukarrajpinti*
 fix *palyanin(pa)*
 flower *ngartan(pa), partiri*
 flower, yellow with edible nectar *jalpiny(pa), pirtiyamarta, piyura*
 fly away *parrpakanin(pa)*
 follow *wananin(pa)*
 foot *jina*
 forgetful *kawan(pa)*
 friend *malpa*
 frog *kajamarr(pa), lirrajapal(pa), pujurl(pa), purupuru, puruku, nanpu, walak(pa)*
 fruit, edible insect gall, bush coconut *ngarlukutu, talakutu*
 fruit, red *kiimi*
 fruit, small plum-like *munyurn(pa), ngawutaka*
 fruit, type of *lukarti, wurtungu*
 full (with food) *palja*
 further *munkarra*

G

Galah *kilinykiliny(pa)*, *piyarrku*
 gecko *manarral(pa)*, *punurr(pa)*,
tilingkamiran(pa), *yanatawara*
 get *manin*
 get up *pakanin(pa)*
 ghost *kukurr(pa)*, *mamu*
 girl *kuyurn(pa)*
 give *yungin(pa)*
 go *yanin*
 go away *maayanin*
 goanna *jarrampayi*, *kurtumaru*, *kurukumpu*,
mawuntu, *mulumaru*, *parnaparnti*, *pirrka*,
wirlka, *yaruma*
 good *palya*
 Goodbye *Nyamawu!* *Nyinamayawu!*
 grab *muntanin*
 grand daughter *yapayi*
 grandfather *jamu*
 grandmother *yaparli*, *yapayi*
 grandmother and grand daughter pair
yapalirra
 grandson *jamu*
 grandfather and grandson pair *jamurarra*
 grass circle placed on the head to balance a
 coolamon *manguri*, *pangkupirri*
 grass seeds, edible *ngaarn(pa)*, *karlijita*,
ngaarn(pa), *wangkulyi*, *wangunu*,
warrupunyu
 gravy *karrkata*
 green *yukiri*
 grey hair *jirlpi*
 grind *yungkanin(pa)*
 grinding stone *marangu*
 ground *nguwa*, *parna*
 growl *warrkinin*
 gum *marntila*
 gum tree *nyumpurl(pa)*, *tinjil(pa)*, *walji*,
wararn(pa), *warlarri*, *warrpurl*, *wumparl*,
yapiliny
 gum, spinife *manyal(pa)*
 guts *jarru*

H

hair band *yakirri*
 hair of head *mangka*, *yintu*
 hair belt *tungkul(pa)*, *yilpi*
 Hakea tree *jarangka*, *kunanturu*
 hand *mara*
 happy *pukurl(pa)*, *wirriya*
 happy, very *pukurlpukurl(pa)*
 hard *nantirr(pa)*
 hat *mangkawala*
 have *kanyinin*
 head *kata*
 heat *kampin(pa)*
 heart *munkumunku*, *turlpu*
 heavy *jarlu*
 heel *luku*
 herb, similar to curry *maraljartu*
 hill *purli*
 hip *kaliny(pa)*, *kalumpi*
 hit *pungin*
 hold *ngalunin*
 hole *pirti*
 home *ngurra*
 hook up *mijinin(pa)*
 horse *jawajawa*,
 hot *parltipartli*
 hot coals *kilyirr(pa)*
 hot season *yalipuru*
 house *mayuru*
 how many *nganamalu*
 hungry *mulkurr(pa)*
 hunting *wartil(pa)*
 husband *nyupa*
 husband and wife *nyupararra*

I

I *ngayu*
 insect gall, edible *ngarlukutu*

J

jaw *ngankurr(pa)*
just *yumu*

K

kangaroo *jamirnti, minjilminjil, marlu*
kidney *wiruntu, yurruntu*
King Brown snake *jalyirrkarraja, larrja, mulyakantirrkura, mulyaminyirr*
kingfisher *huurn(pa)*
kite hawk *janapirlki, pirlpirli*
knead *kurtayimanin*
knee *murti*
knife, stone *katuma*
knock against *kirralpungin*
knowing *ninti*

L

ladder *jarrnga*
lake *warla*
language *wangka*
later *ngula*
leaf *jalyirr(pa)*
Leave it! *Wanti!*
leg, lower *nyunjun(pa)*
lie *ngarrin*
light *nyampal(pa), nyunnga, raapu*
light (the action) *kujanin*
lightning *malngirri*
lip, bottom lip *mutirr(pa)*
listen *kulinin*
liver *miliki, yalu*
lizard *nyinkurlu, pangarnu, putuka*
lizard, blue-tongue *jalapa, jalurli, lungkurta, lungminka, minijarti, yarrkirrki*
lizard, legless *junanjunan(pa)*
lizard, Rasptail Lizard *jarany, nyinjirri, winjikirti*
lizard, small *jintalpi, kaanu, kantamal, wirruly(pa)*
long *warlpukurru*

long hair *mangka*
Look out! *Warrawu!*
look *nyangin(pa)*
lorikeet *kinkin(pa)*
lovely *mikumiku, palya*
lungs *ralyuralyu*

M

mad *kawankawan(pa)*
magpie *kutparuparu*
make *palyanin(pa)*
man *yirna*
many *laltu*
marsupial mole *kakarrarturl(pa), mantararr, wirrminji*
matches *nguyumpara, waru* (this was a *kumunjayi* word in 2001)
mate *malpa*
me *ngayu*
meat *kuka*
medicinal plant *jakampa, kanturr(pa)*
meet halfway *ngatangata*
middle *kutungka*
money *purli*
moon *panyal(pa), yakarn(pa)*
morning *yunguny(pa)*
mother *tilpu, yipi*
mother and child pair *yipirarra*
mother's sisters *tilpu, yipi*
mother-in-law *yumari*
mound *tumuntumun(pa)*
Mountain Devil *kataputa, ngiyari*
mouse *munyanki, wulkuny(pa)*
moustache *ngunjungunju*
mouth *yirra*
mucous *kinil(pa)*
mud *pirlki, yamarla*
Mudlark *tiyatiya*
mug *jilpuny(pa)*
mushroom, edible *ngalyilka, pulurntarri*

N

name *yini*
 name, for someone whose name is taboo
 kumunjayi
 narrow *wujulwujul(pa)*
 navel *nyunjiny(pa)*
 neck, back of *karlparr(pa)*, *nyanka*
 nectar *jankawilarri*, *wama*, *yutuyutu*
 nest *mina*
 niece *yurntal(pa)*
 night time *mungajarra*
 No. *Wiya*.
 None. *Wiya*.
 north *kayili*
 nose *mulya*, *nyunngura*
 nose, the bridge *jinta*
 now *kuwarri*

O

ochre, red *matarr(pa)*, *yilkuyilku*
 ochre, white *pilyal(pa)*
 ochre, yellow *karntawarra*
 oesophagus *kurljulkurljul(pa)*
 OK *Yuwa*.
 old *puta*
 old man *yirna*
 old person with grey hair *jiripi*
 old woman *ngilypi*, *parntany(pa)*
 one *kuju*
 orange *tilytily*
 orphan *minjil(pa)*
 others *karlkin(pa)*
 outside *nganjarr(pa)*
 over there *nyarra*

P

pain *karrkarr(pa)*
 paper *mirlimirli*, *wanturr(pa)*
 paperbark tree *janturntu*, *miljirr(pa)*
 parents *nyupararra*
 path *karrukarru*

Peewee *tiyatiya*
 person, Aboriginal *puntu*
 person, one who is bereaved *jaminykurlu*
 person, single *kirriji*
 petticoat *nyimparra*
 pigeon *jarralakari*, *kurlukuku*,
 ngatamunkumunku
 plain, flat land *jantirri*, *langa*
 play *ngarlpurrin*
 poke *wakanin(pa)*
 poker, stick for shifting food in the coals
 liluly(pa)
 policeman *karrpilpayi*
 Poor thing *Nyarru*, *Yawi*
 ‘porcupine’ *kilijirti*, *kilikurlu*, *nginu*
 possum *jampiyinti*, *ngarlngarl(pa)*, *wayurta*,
 winkuma
 potato *jikilyjikily(pa)*, *karnti*, *kujurntu*,
 pungka, *pura*
 pour *yintanin(pa)*
 pregnant *junijarra*
 prickle *jilka*
 pubic covering *nyimparra*
 puffball *majapurti*, *mantalyu*
 pull *wininin(pa)*, *yilanin(pa)*

Q

quail *purrunarri*, *purrunjuru*
 question word *kurlu*
 quickly *wala*
 quiet *mitily(pa)*

R

rain *kalyu*, *waral(pa)*
 rain season *kalyupuru*, *wuruwuru*
 rain, in cold weather *kuluwa*
 rainbow *jurturangu*
 Rasptail Lizard *jarany*, *nyinjirri*, *winjikirti*
 rat kangaroo *jalalpi*, *minyuparnta*, *nurtu*,
 yilkirra
 raw *kurnka*, *nguyu*
 red *karrku*, *tilytily*, *yilkuyilku*

relation *walja*
 return *malaku*
 rib *nyinimin(pa)*, *yiri*
 right side of the body *jungakarti*
 ripe *miti*
 river *karru*, *kiliki*
 rock *purli*
 root, edible *jirilypaja*, *mulany(pa)*
 rotten *yurna*
 run *wirrganin*

S

saliva *jarla*
 salt water *kara*
 sand *nguwa*, *parna*, *walyarra*
 sandhill *tali*
 sap, of a wattle tree *marntila*
 say *wajanin*
 search *ngurrinin*
 season, cold *yaltapuru*
 season, green grass *yukiripuru*
 season, hot *yalipuru*
 season, rain *kalyupuru*, *wuruwuru*
 season, wet *kalyupuru*, *wuruwuru*
 seeds, edible *japiya*, *jirrjirrpungka*,
 kanturr(pa), *karlijita*, *kuparta*, *kurlpan(pa)*,
 kuwarr(pa), *lukarrara*, *manjal(pa)*,
 marajan(pa), *marnkal(pa)*, *nyanmi*,
 nyumil(pa), *wakitirri*
 seeds, red *yininti*
 send *yiyanin(pa)*
 shade *ngumpa*, *wilja*
 sharp *jaliny(pa)*
 shelter *kanaja*, *mangkaja*
 shield *jara*
 shin *nyunjun(pa)*
 shin bone *nyunjun(pa)*
 shiver *mirrmirrmanin*
 shoot *yungkanin(pa)*
 short *juku*
 shoulder *ngurnti*, *parnti*, *pirni*
 sick *mimi*
 sing *yinkanin*
 single person *kirriji*
 sister *jurtu*

sister, pair *jurturarra*
 sister, younger *malaju*, *malangu*
 sister-in-law *juwari*
 sit *nyinanin*, *nyinin*
 skin *wanturr(pa)*
 skin groups *Karimara*, *Milangka*, *Purungu*
 Yiparrka, *Panaka*
 skink *wurrrkanpa*
 sky *nganka*
 sleep *kulirr(pa)*, *kurtun(pa)*
 slide *jirrallyanin*
 slip *jirrallyanin*
 slowly *yaru*
 small *juku*
 small, very *jukujuku*
 smelly *yurna*
 smoke *ngunjurr(pa)*, *puyu*
 snake *jinpiljinpira*, *jitari*, *jitari*, *pujurr(pa)*,
 warna
 snake, Black-headed python *kuniya*,
 mulyamaru
 snake, Death Adder *ngalyawiltirr(pa)*,
 yulurrin(pa)
 snake, general word *kanaji*
 snake, King Brown *jalyirrkarraja*, *larrja*,
 mulyakantirrkura, *mulyaminyirr*
 Snappy Gum *tinjil(pa)*, *warrpurl(pa)*,
 wumparl(pa)
 snore *ngunmanin(pa)*
 soak, a hole dug in a creek bed for water
 juljul(pa)
 social section or skin group *Karimara*,
 Milangka, *Purungu*, *Yiparrka*, *Panaka*
 soft *nyampal(pa)*, *nyunnga*
 son *kaja*
 son-in-law *yumari*
 song *turlku*
 sore *mimi*, *yama*
 Sorry! Poor Thing! *Yawi!*
 south *yulparrira*, *ngawarrara*
 speak *wangkanin*, *wangkin*
 spear *mangul*, *kurlarta*
 spear, hooked *narnngujarra*
 spear, short fighting *karu*
 spear, stone head *jalypa*
 spear, the action *wakanin(pa)*
 spearthrower *marapaku*

speech *wangka*
 spinifex gum *manyal(pa)*
 spinifex seeds *nyanmi, lukararra, marnkal(pa)*
 spinifex wax *wajarn(pa)*
 spinifex, type of *wirrjily(pa)*
 spirit *jinawantu*
 spirit, like a dwarf *murungkurr*
 spit *jarla*
 stamp *kantunin(pa)*
 star *wiily(pa)*
 Stay there. *Nyinamayawu.*
 stay *ngarrin*
 stick *warta*
 still *mitily(pa)*
 stockman *julyarraji*
 stomach *nyuru, yapatany*
 stone *purli*
 stone knife *katuma*
 Stop it! *Wanti!*
 straight *junga*
 strong *nantirr(pa)*
 stupid *kawankawan(pa)*
 sugar *jankawilarri, walyarra*
 sugary deposit on leaves *lilalila, purrukupan(pa)*
 sun *jirntu*
 sunset *rukaruka*
 swag *jantu, wararri*
 swallow *jalpintaari*
 swamp *warrarn(pa)*
 sweat *jirmily(pa)*
 sweet potato *jikilyjikily(pa), punga*
 swelling *murru, tungku*
 swim *tupurlngarrin*

T

tail *nginti*
 tail bone *mutalka, nyinji*
 take *katinin(pa)*
 tea *nalija, tii*
 teach *nintijunin*
 teacher *nintijulpayi, nintiwajalpayi*
 teeth *yirra*

tendon *nganju, jirliwa*
 that *jii*
 That's all. *Nyamawu.*
 them, they *palunya*
 there *nyarra*
 thigh *kanji, junta*
 thin *murrjin(pa)*
 thirsty *marrku, yura*
 this *ngaa*
 those *jiin(pa)*
 those parents *ngampa*
 three *mankurr(pa)*
 throw away *wirrupungin(pa)*
 thumb *mamatura*
 thunder *kukurtutu*
 tie up *karrpinin*
 tired *yumpaly(pa)*
 tobacco *wama*
 today *kuwarri*
 toe, big toe *mamatura*
 toenail *milpiny(pa)*
 tomorrow *yunguny(pa)*
 tongue *nyarl原因(pa)*
 totem, conception *jarrin(pa)*
 track *karrukarru*
 track (the action) *watijunin*
 tread *kantunin*
 tree *warta*
 tree, bloodwood *kurntupungu, kurungu*
 tree, Boab tree *larrkarti*
 tree, Desert Oak *kurrkapi, parrkaparrka*
 tree, Desert Walnut *turtujartu*
 tree, fig *jamartany(pa), kurnangki, marrapanti*
 tree, gum *nyumpurl(pa), tinjil(pa), walji, wararn, warlarri, warrpurl, wumparl, yapiliny*
 tree, Hakea *jarangka, kunanturu*
 tree, paperbark *janturntu, miljirr(pa)*
 tree, type of *jalyi, karliwan, kurrkapi, malayi, mankarrpurru, mulunturu, pukurrpirri, tajitaji, warlakarti*
 tree, wattle *nyilka, jipari, karlayin(pa), kurlpan(pa), kuwarr(pa), lungkurn(pa), nyirrjartu*
 True! *Mularr(pa)!*
 truly *yilta*

two *kujarra*

U

um *ngapi, nganayi*
 uncle *kaka, kamuru*
 underneath *kaninkanin*
 unsuccessful *purtu*
 up *kankani*
 upper back *warnnga*
 urine *kumpu*
 us *ngayun(pa)*
 us two *ngayukujarra*

V

valley between the sandhills *larrku*
 vegetable foods *mayi, mirrka*
 vehicle *mutika*
 veins *jirliwa*
 vomit *kurlpa*
 vomit (the action) *kurlpajunin*

W

Wait a minute, please. *Wanyu*
 wait *kulyakanyinin*
 wallaby, Black-footed Wallaby *lungkarr*
 wallaby, Hare Wallaby *kalan*
 wallaby, Northern Nailtail Wallaby
 jampukarti, kururrungku, wurtuwurtu
 wallaby, Rufous Hare Wallaby *mala*
 Wangkatjungka Community *Jilajin, Jitapuru,*
 Kurungal
 warm area for sitting or lying in *parnparn(pa)*
 water *kalyu*
 water animal *kalyukarraja*
 waterhole *jurnu, yirnta*
 wattle tree *nyilka, jipari, karlayin(pa),*
 kurlpan(pa), kuwarr(pa), lungkurn(pa),
 nyirrrjartu
 we *ngayun(pa)*

we two *ngayukujarra*
 weak *jakajaka, yumpaly(pa)*
 well *palya*
 west *wilura, yapurra*
 wet *nyumuriny(pa)*
 wet season *kalyupuru, wuruwuru*
 what *ngana, munta*
 what *ngana*
 what kind *nganayuru*
 what type *nganapartu*
 when *nyangula*
 where *wanja, jaatu*
 where from *nganajanu*
 which *nganapartu*
 white *mawuntu*
 white cockatoo *lapa*
 white person *kartiya, watpala*
 white woman *mijiji*
 widow *pilalji*
 wife *nyupa*
 Willy Wagtail *jirntirrirntirr*
 willy-willy *ngalarra*
 wind *walypa*
 wind, strong *ngalarra*
 windbreak *wungku*
 wine *wama*
 woman *tuju*
 women's dance *liplip*
 woman, old *ngilypi, parntany(pa)*
 wood *warta*
 word *wangka*
 wriggle *wangu*
 write *wakanin*

Y

yam *karnti*
 yellow *karntawarra*
 Yes *Yuwa*
 you *nyuntu*
 you two *nyuntukujarra*
 you, all of you *nyuntun(pa)*
 younger brother or sister *malaju*

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